

HISTORY  
OF  
THE PERSECUTIONS!!  
ENDURED BY THE  
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER  
DAY SAINTS,  
*IN A M E R I C A .*

COMPILED FROM PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, AND DRAWN  
FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

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BY  
C. W. WANDELL,  
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

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“Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness’ sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” Matt. v. 10.


“What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?”

“These are they which came out of great tribulation.” Rev. vii: 13, 14.

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**Sydney :**

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Public preaching may be expected at 3 o'clock P.M. on the Race Course, and at 11 o'clock A.M. and at 7 o'clock P.M., at No. 66, Pitt Street, opposite Dr. Fullerton's, every Sabbath. Also at No. 66, Pitt Street, on every Wednesday evening at 7 o'clock. The public are respectfully invited to attend.



## CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS was first organized, in the State of New York, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty, on the sixth day of April. At its first organization, it consisted of six members. The first instruments of its organization were Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, who received their authority and priesthood, or apostleship, by direct revelation from God—by the voice of God—by the ministering of angels—and by the Holy Ghost. They claim no authority whatever from antiquity, that is, they never received baptism nor ordination from any religious system which previously existed; but being commissioned from on high, they first baptized each other, and then commenced to minister the gospel and its ordinances to others.

The first principle of theology as held by this Church, is Faith in God the eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, who verily was crucified for the sins of the world, and who rose from the dead on the third day, and is now seated at the right hand of God as a mediator; and in the Holy Ghost who bears record of them, the same to day, as yesterday, and for ever.\*

The second principle is Repentance towards God; that is, all men who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are required to turn away from their sins, to cease from their EVIL DEEDS, and to come humbly before the throne of grace with a broken heart and a contrite spirit.

The third principle is Baptism, by immersion in water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for remission of sins;† with the promise of the Holy Ghost to all who believe and obey the gospel.

The fourth principle is, the laying on of hands in the name of Jesus Christ, for the gift of the Holy Ghost.‡ This ordinance is to be administered by the apostles, or elders of the church, upon all those who are baptized into this church.

Through these several steps of faith and obedience, man is made partaker of the Holy Ghost, and numbered with children of God, as one of his Saints: § his name is then enrolled in the book of the names of the righteous, and it then becomes his duty to watch, to pray, to deal justly; and to meet together with the saints as often as circumstances will admit of; and with them to partake of bread and wine, in remembrance of the broken body, and shed blood of Jesus Christ; and in short, to continue faithful unto the end, in all the duties which are enjoined by the Law of Christ.

It is the duty and privilege of the saints, thus organized upon the everlasting gospel, to believe in and enjoy all the gifts, powers, and blessings which flow from the Holy Spirit. Such for instance, as the gifts of revelations, prophecy, visions, the ministry of angels, healing the sick by the laying on of hands in the name of Jesus, the working of miracles, and, in short, all the gifts as mentioned in scripture, or as enjoyed by the ancient saints. ||

This is a brief outline of the doctrine of this church; and we believe that it is the only system of doctrine which God ever revealed to man in a gospel dispensation, and the only system which can be maintained by the New Testament.

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\* Acts viii. 37. † Acts ii. 38. Act xxii. 16. Romans vi. ‡ Acts viii. 17, 18. Acts xix. 6. § John iii. 5. || 1st Cor. xii.

Now, as far as all other modern religious systems differ from the foregoing principles, so far we disfellowship them. We neither recognize their priesthood, nor ordinances as divine. But at the same time we wish well to the individuals of all societies: we believe that many of them are sincere, and that they have a right to enjoy their religious opinions in peace. We do not wish to persecute any people for their religion; but we wish to instruct them in those principles which we consider to be right, as far as they are willing to receive instruction, but no farther.

We also believe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are true; and that they are designed for our profit and learning, and that all mystical or private interpretation of them ought to be done away; \* that the prophecies and doctrine, the covenants and promises contained in them have a literal application, according to the most plain, easy, and simple meaning of the language in which they are written.

We believe that the scriptures, now extant, do not contain all the sacred writings which God gave to man; for it is a fact easily demonstrated, that they contain a small portion, indeed, of the things which God has made known to our race; for it is evident, that a communication has been kept open between God and man, from the days of Adam to the present day, among all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; except such communication has been withheld by reason of transgression. Thousands of communications were received before the Bible began to be written. Thousands of communications were received during the progress of these writings, besides those which are written in it, and thousands of communications have been received since the Bible was completed. Thousands of communications have also been received among other nations, and in other countries remote from the scenes where the Bible was written. And in short, the Holy Ghost is a spirit of revelation and prophecy, and wherever it has been enjoyed by mankind, there communications from God have been received. In the following list, will be found the names of inspired books, which have been lost, but which God has promised to restore again, in this dispensation, which is to usher in the millennial kingdom, see *Acts*, 3 *ch.*, 19, 20, 21 verses.

Book of the Wars of the Lord: Num. xxi. 14.

Book of Jasher: Joshua x. 13.

Book of the Acts of Solomon: 1st Kings, XI: 41.

Book of Nathan the Prophet: } 1st Chronicles XXIX: 29.

Book of Gad the Seer: }

Prophecy of Ahijah } 2nd Chronicles, IX: 29.

Visions of Iddo the Seer }

Book of Jehu: 2nd Chronicles, XX: 34.

Solomon's 3000 Proverbs } 1st Kings, IV: 32.

and his 1005 Songs: }

An Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: 1st Corinthians, V: 9.

An Epistle to the Laodiceans: Colossians, IV: 16.

We, therefore, believe in the Book of Mormon, which is an ancient American record, lately discovered, containing a sketch of the history, prophecies, and doctrine of the ancient nations who inhabited that country; which book has come forth in direct fulfillment of prophecy. (See Isaiah c. xxix.)

And we also believe in many communications, which God has been pleased to make to us, in the rise and progress of this church; as he has often revealed his word to us by visions, by dreams, by angels, by his own voice, and by the Holy Spirit of prophecy and revelation.†

We believe that God will continue to reveal himself to us, until all things are revealed, concerning the past, present, and future; until we have come in possession of all the knowledge, intelligence, or truth which is in existence.‡ We believe that the Jews, and all the house of Israel, will soon be gathered home to their own lands, from all the countries where they have been dispersed; and that they will become one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel, never more to be divided, or overcome, and that they will all be brought to a knowledge of God, and will become a holy nation. §

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\* 2nd Peter i. 20. † Joel ii. 28, 29. Ac's ii. 29. ‡ Isaiah ii. 3. Jeremiah xxxiii. 6. Ezek. xx. 33 to 38. Ezek. xxxix. 29. § Isaiah xlix. 18 to 23. Jeremiah xvi. 14 to 21. Ezek. xxxvii. 21 to 28. Romans xi. 25, 26, 27.



We also believe that Jesus Christ will come in person, in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, and all the saints with him, to reign on the earth a thousand years; and that he will destroy the wicked from the earth, by terrible judgments, at the time of his coming.\*

We also believe that the saints will rise from the dead, at his second coming, and that they will live and reign, on the earth, one thousand years. We do not believe, that the wicked will rise from the dead, until the thousand years are ended; but that their resurrection is after the millennium, and connected with the last judgment.†

We further believe that the restoration of Israel and Judah, and the second advent of Messiah, are near at hand; and that the generation now lives, who will witness the fulfilment of these great events; and that the Lord has raised up the church of Latter Day Saints, and has set the truth in order among them, as a commencement of this great restoration.‡

It will be proper, however, before leaving this subject, to contradict certain reports, which are in circulation, concerning our principles in regard to property, and also in regard to matrimony. It is a current report, and often credited by those who have no acquaintance with our society, that we hold our property in common. This is a base falsehood without a shadow of truth. The members of this church have ever held their property individually, the same as other societies, with the exception of that which they freely give for the use of the society, to minister to the wants of the poor, and for the building of houses of worship, &c. The property thus given is managed by proper officers, who render a strict account of all their incomes and expenditures, and who have no right to apply one dollar for any other purpose than that for which it is given.

It is also a current report among the ignorant, that we do away matrimony, and that we allow of unlawful intercourse between the sexes. Now, this idea originated, and has been kept alive by wicked and designing persons, and by the credulity of those who are more willing and ready to believe a falsehood, than they are to believe the truth. There has never been the shadow of anything to cause such a report; on the contrary, our principles on this subject have been extensively published, both from the press and pulpit. We believe that it is lawful that a man should have one wife, and that they are bound together until death shall separate them, and that all adultery and fornication are strictly forbidden by the word of God, and in all our rules and regulations as a church and society; and whosoever is guilty of such abominations cannot inherit the kingdom of God, without a strict repentance and reformation; and, without this, they can have no place in our society.

There are many other reports in circulation which we think unworthy of any particular notice by way of contradiction, as they are in themselves too foolish and absurd, to do a candid public, or ourselves, any harm. There is one story, however, which I will notice here, because some religious journals have given some credit to it. It is the story of Solomon Spaulding, writing a romance of the ancient inhabitants of America, which is said to be converted by Mr. Sidney Rigdon into the Book of Mormon. This is another base fabrication got up by the devil, and his servants, to deceive the world. Mr. Sidney Rigdon never saw the Book of Mormon until it had been published more than six months; it was then presented to him by the author of this history. The Book of Mormon is not a romance, but a record of eternal truth, which will stand when heaven and earth shall pass away. It bears abundant evidence upon the face of it, to show to any candid reader of the least literary discernment, that there never was the shadow of romance in its origin. It is reported of our society that they feel a disposition to stir up the Indians to hostilities against the whites. This is also without foundation or truth.

We are true Americans, we love our country and its institutions; we wish all war and bloodshed to come to an end. We are also friends to the red men, as human beings, and, more especially, as descendants of Israel. We wish them to become acquainted with the fact, that they are descendants of Israel, and, also, with the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which was had among their fathers; and that they may repent and obey the

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\* Acts i. 11. Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. Zach. xiv. 2nd Thess. i. 7 to 10. Rev. xx. 4.

† Rev. v. 9, 10, also ch. xx. ‡ Jer. xvi. 14 to 21.

gospel, and become a peaceful and blessed people; and we believe they *will* soon become such, for the covenants made with their fathers *must be fulfilled*.

And the record of their fathers, which has now come to light, together with the other scriptures, will do more towards their conversion to Christianity than all the precepts of sectarianism which can be taught them.

Having given this brief sketch of our religious principles, we will now return to our account of the rise and progress of the church, until we come down to the commencement of the late persecution. After the six members were organized, as stated in the foregoing, they gradually increased in numbers, until in September, 1830, at which time they numbered about fifty. In October, four of their elders, viz:—O. Cowdery, Z. Peterson, P. Whitmer, and P. P. Pratt, took a mission to Ohio, where they soon baptized some hundreds; insomuch, that in June, 1831, the whole Church numbered nearly two thousand. A general conference was then held in Kirtland, Ohio, and was attended by something like sixty of our preachers. These four elders who founded the church in Ohio, soon continued their journey farther westward, being accompanied by F. G. Williams; and after many hardships they found themselves on the western frontier of Missouri, in the beginning of 1831. These were the first of the society who penetrated into that state; indeed, they were the first who introduced the system in all the states west of New York.

During the summer and autumn of 1831, many families of our society from New York and from Ohio, emigrated to Missouri. They purchased lands in Jackson County, and made improvements in agriculture, and in many of the useful branches of mechanism. They established a printing press and a mercantile establishment, and various other branches of business, in the town of Independence, (the shire town of Jackson County.) This colony soon increased to the number of one thousand and upwards. All the lands they settled were paid for, and they lived in the most perfect peace with the other inhabitants of the county: having no lawsuits, nor any disturbance of any kind.

In the meantime the system was rapidly spreading in the eastern states, insomuch that in 1835, branches of the church, and general conferences, had been organized through all the states eastward as far as Maine.

In 1836 it was introduced into Toronto, Upper Canada, where it soon spread through the province.

And in 1837 several of the elders sailed for England, under the direction of O. Hyde and H. C. Kimball, where they soon baptized between one and two thousand.

The same year, P. P. Pratt, assisted by E. Fordham, introduced it into the city of New York, where it has gradually spread until now, gathering a society in the city, and in various parts of the country around, and up to the autumn of 1839, it is still spreading in almost every country where it is known, and we anticipate a time, not far distant, when a knowledge of this system of theology will be enjoyed by all the nations of the earth, for, for this end was it sent into the world. The apostles and elders of this church have a special mission to fulfil, to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people under heaven; and this is the gospel of the kingdom which was to be preached, for a testimony unto all nations, and then shall the Son of Man come. If the people oppose this great mission, it will only injure themselves. It will not hinder the rolling forth of the work of God, nor the fulfilment of his purposes; for *he has set his hand the second time to bring about the Restoration of Israel, with the fulness of the Gentiles.*—Pratt's History.

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## CHAPTER II.

Soon after we commenced our settlement in Jackson county, Missouri, a spirit of persecution began to evince itself, which finally resulted in the murder of some of our brethren, the ravishing of women, and the final expulsion, in 1839, of our whole society from that worse than barbarous state, under circumstances the most fearful, and of the most painful nature. In the midst of this horrible persecution, while many of our brethren were in prison, and the main body of the society crowded together in the city



of Far West, without sufficient food, and many without shelter from the weather, and a sentence of EXTERMINATION hovering, as it were, over their heads, and ready to fall upon them; they thought it best to ask the Government for justice and protection, and to this end they drew up the following

MEMORIAL TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MISSOURI.

*To the Honorable Legislature of the State of Missouri, in Senate and House of Representatives convened.*

We, the undersigned petitioners, inhabitants of Caldwell county, Missouri, in consequence of the late calamity that has come upon us, taken in connection with former afflictions, feel it a duty we owe to ourselves and our country, to lay our case before your honorable body for consideration.

It is a well known fact, that a society of our people commenced settling in Jackson county, Missouri, in the summer of 1831, where they, according to their ability, purchased lands and settled upon them, with the intention and expectation of becoming permanent citizens, in common with others.

Soon after the settlement began, persecution began; and as the society increased, persecution also increased; until the society, at last, was compelled to leave the county. And although an account of these persecutions has been published to the world, yet we feel that it will not be improper to notice a few of the most prominent items in this memorial.

On the 20th of July, 1833, a mob convened at Independence, a committee of which called upon a few of the men of our church there, and stated to them that the store, printing office, and indeed all other mechanic shops must be closed forthwith, and that the society leave the county immediately. The following is a copy of a declaration, which was signed by the mob at the commencement of their operations, in 1833; and it may be considered as their articles of agreement in conspiring against the laws of the land; and the very foundation of that awful scene which has well nigh destroyed a flourishing society of many thousands, and involved the whole State in irreticvable ruin.

"We, the undersigned, citizens of Jackson county, believing that an important crisis is at hand, as regards our civil society, in consequence of a pretended religious sect of people, that have settled and are still settling in our county, styling themselves Mormons;\* and intending as we do to rid our society, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must: and believing as we do, that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee, or at least a sufficient one, against the evils which are now inflicted upon us, and seem to be increasing by the said religious sect; deem it expedient and of the highest importance, to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose; a purpose which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified as well by the law of nature as by the law of self-preservation. It is now more than two years since the first of the fanatics or knaves (for one or the other they undoubtedly are) made their first appearance amongst us; and pretending as they did, and now do, to hold personal communion and converse, face to face, with the most high God—to receive communications and revelations direct from Heaven—to heal the sick by laying on hands ---and in short, to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired apostles and prophets of old. We believe them deluded fanatics, or weak and designing knaves; and that they and their pretensions would soon pass away; but in this we were deceived. The arts of a few designing leaders amongst them have thus far succeeded in holding them together as a society, and since the arrival of the first of them, they have been daily increasing in numbers, and if they had been respectable citizens in society, and thus deluded, they would have been entitled to our pity rather than to our contempt and hatred. They brought into our country little or no property, and left less behind them; and we infer, that those only, yoked themselves to the Mormon car, who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the change. But their conduct here, stamped their conduct in their true colours. More than a year since it was ascertained that they had been tampering with our slaves, and endeavouring to sow dissensions and to raise seditions amongst them. Of this, their Mormon leaders were informed; and said that they would deal with any of their members who should again in like case

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\* The Society never styled themselves Mormons, it is a name vulgarly attached to them. The true name is "Latter Day Saints."

offend. But how specious are appearances. In a late number of the *Star*, published in Independence, by the leader of this sect there is an article inviting free negroes and mulattoes from other states, to become Mormons, and remove and settle among us. This exhibits them in still more odious colors. It manifests a desire on the part of that society to inflict on our society an injury that they knew would be to us insupportable, and one of the surest means of driving us from the county; for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that they pretend to, to see that the introduction of such a caste among us, would corrupt our blacks and instigate them to bloodshed.

"They openly blaspheme the most High God and cast contempt upon his Holy Religion, by pretending to receive revelations direct from Heaven—by pretending to speak in unknown tongues by direct inspiration—and by divers pretences derogatory of God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason. They do declare openly that God hath given them this county of land, and that sooner or later, they must and will have possession of our lands for an inheritance; and in fine they have conducted themselves on many occasions in such a manner, that we believe it a duty we owe to ourselves, to our wives and children, and to the cause of public morals, to remove them from among us. We are not prepared to give up our pleasant places and goodly possessions to them; or to receive into the bosom of our families as fit companions for our wives and daughters, the degraded free negroes and mulattoes, who are now invited to settle among us. Under such a state of things, even our beautiful county would cease to be a desirable residence, and our situation intolerable. We therefore agree, that after timely warning, and upon receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace as they found us, we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them. And to that end, we severally pledge to each other, our lives, our bodily powers, fortunes, and honors! We will meet at the Court House in the town of Independence, on Saturday next, to consult of ulterior movements."

Hundreds of signatures were signed to the foregoing paper.

Before I proceed with this history, I will briefly notice a few items of the foregoing bond of conspiracy, for I consider most of it as too barefaced to need any comment.

In the first place, I would inquire whether our belief as set forth in this declaration, as to gifts, miracles, revelations, and tongues, is not the same that all the apostles and disciples taught, believed, and practiced, and the doctrine of the New Testament?

Secondly—I would inquire when the New Testament religion ceased, and a law revealed or instituted, which made blasphemy of the belief and practice of it? or what holy religion the Jackson mob were speaking of, which was thrown into contempt by the revival of the New Testament religion?

Thirdly—They complain of our Society being very poor as to property; but have they never read in the New Testament that God had chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom of God? And when did poverty become a crime known to the law?

Fourthly—Concerning free negroes and mulattoes. Do not the laws of Missouri provide abundantly for the removal from the state of all free negroes and mulattoes? (except certain privileged ones;) and also for the punishment of those who introduce or harbor them? The statement concerning our invitation to them to become Mormons, and remove to this state, and settle among us, is a wicked fabrication, as no such thing was ever published in the *Star*, or anywhere else, by our people, nor anything in the shape of it; and we challenge the people of Jackson, or any other people to produce such a publication from us.

In fact, one dozen free negroes or mulattoes never have belonged to our society in any part of the world, from its first organization to this day, 1839.

Fifthly—As to crime or vice, we solemnly appeal to all the records of the courts of Jackson county, and challenge the county to produce the name of any individual of our society on the list of indictments, from the time of our first settlement in the county, to the time of our expulsion, a period of more than two years.

Sixthly—As it respects the ridiculous report of our threatening that we would have their lands for a possession, it is too simple to require a notice, as the laws of the country guarantee to every man his rights, and abundantly protect him in their full enjoyment. And we hereby declare that we settled no lands only such as our money

purchased, and that no such thing ever entered our hearts, as possessing any inheritance in any other way. And

Seventhly—We ask what public morals were in danger of being corrupted, where officers of the peace could openly violate their several oaths in the most awful manner, and join with hundreds of others in murder, treason, robbery, house burning, stealing, &c.---*Pratt's History*.

These propositions were so unexpected, that a certain time was asked for, to consider on the subject, before an answer should be returned; which was refused, and our men being individually interrogated, each one answered that he could not consent to comply with their propositions. One of the mob replied that he was sorry, for the work of destruction would commence immediately. In a short time, the printing office, which was a two-story brick building, was assailed by the mob and soon thrown down, and with it much valuable property destroyed. Next, they went to the store for the same purpose, but Mr. Gilbert, one of the owners, agreeing to close it, they abandoned their design. Their next move was, their dragging of Bishop Partridge from his house and family to the public square, where surrounded by hundreds, they partially stripped him of his clothes, and tarred and feathered him from head to foot.\* This was Saturday, and the mob agreed to meet the following Tuesday, to accomplish their purpose of driving or massacring the society. Tuesday came, and the mob came also, bearing with them a red flag, in token of blood. Some two or three of the principal men of the society offered their lives, if that would appease the wrath of the mob, so that the society might dwell in peace upon their lands. The answer was, that unless the society would leave "en masse," every man should die for himself. Being in a defenceless situation, to save a general massacre, it was agreed that one-half of the society should leave the county by the first of the next January, and the remainder by the first of the following April. A treaty was entered into and ratified, and all went on smoothly for a while. After this, an express was sent to the Governor of the State, stating the facts of the outrages, and praying for some relief and protection. But none was afforded, only some advice for us to prosecute the offenders, which was accordingly undertaken. But this so enraged the mob that they began to make preparations to come out by night and recommence depredations.

But some time in October the wrath of the mob began again to be kindled, inso-much, that they shot at some of our people, whipped others, and threw down their houses, and committed many other depredations; indeed, the society of Saints was harrassed for some time both day and night—their houses were brick-batted and broken open—women and children insulted, &c.

"Having passed through the most aggravating insults and injuries without making the least resistance, a general inquiry prevailed at this time throughout the church as to the propriety of self-defence. Some claimed the right of defending themselves, their families, and property from destruction; while others doubted the propriety of self-defence; and as the agreement of the 23rd of July, between the two parties had been published to the world, wherein it was set forth, that the Mormons were not to leave until the 1st of April, 1834; it was believed by many of the Mormons that the leaders of the mob would not suffer so bare-faced a violation of the agreement before the time therein set forth; but Thursday night, the 31st of October, gave them abundant proof that no pledge, verbal or written, was longer to be regarded; for on that night, between forty and fifty, many of whom were armed with guns, proceeded against a branch of the church, about eight miles west of town, and unroofed and partly demolished ten dwelling-houses; and in the midst of the shrieks and screams of women and children whipt and beat, in a savage manner, several of the men; and, with their horrid threats, frightened women and children into the wilderness. Such of the men as could escape, fled for their lives; for very few of them had arms, neither were they embodied; and they were threatened with death if they made any resistance. Such, therefore, as could not escape by flight, received a pelting by rocks, and a beating by guns and whips."---*Pratt's History*.

The store-house of A. S. Gilbert and Co., was broken open, ransacked, and some of the goods strewd in the streets.

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\* A Baptist Minister, the Rev. Isaac M'Coy, held the tar bucket, while they tarred and feathered these two brethren. A man by the name of Allen was also tarred at the same time.



These abuses, with many others of a very aggravated nature, so stirred up the indignant feelings of our people, that a party of them, say about thirty, met a company of the mob of about double their number, when a battle took place, in which some two or three of the mob, and one of our people were killed. This raised, as it were, the whole county in arms, and nothing would satisfy them but an immediate surrender of the arms of our people, and they forthwith to leave the county. Fifty-one guns were given up, which have never been returned, or paid for, to this day. The next day, parties of the mob, from thirty to seventy, headed by priests, went from house to house, threatening women and children with death if they were not off before they returned.

"At the head of one of these parties, appeared the before-mentioned Rev. Isaac M' Coy, with a gun upon his shoulder, ordering our brethren to leave the county forthwith. Other pretended preachers of the gospel took part in the persecution; calling the brethren the common enemy of mankind."---*Pratt's History*, p. 46.

This so alarmed them that they fled in different directions; some took shelter in the woods, while others wandered in the prairies till their feet bled. In the meantime the weather being very cold, their sufferings in other respects were very great.

"One party of about a hundred and fifty women and children, fled to the prairie, where they wandered for several days, mostly without food, and nothing but the open firmament for their shelter."---*Pratt's History*. "And in this exposed situation three women gave birth to children."---*Green's History*.

The society made their escape to Clay county as fast as they possibly could, where the people received them kindly and administered to their wants. After the society had left Jackson county, their buildings, amounting to about two hundred, were either burned or otherwise destroyed, and much of the crops, as well as furniture, stock, &c., which, if properly estimated, would make a large sum, for which they have not as yet received any remuneration.

"When the news of these outrages reached the Governor of the state, courts of inquiry, both civil and military, were ordered by him; but nothing effectual was ever done to restore our rights, or to protect us in the least. It is true, the attorney-general, with a military escort and our witnesses, went to Jackson county and demanded indictments, but the court and jurors refused to do anything in the case, and the military and witnesses were mobbed out of the county, and thus that matter ended. The Governor also ordered them to restore our arms which they had taken from us, but they never were restored; and even our lands in that county were robbed of their timber, and either occupied by our enemies for years, or left desolate."---*Pratt's History*, pp. 51 and 52.

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## CHAPTER III.

The Society remained in Clay county nearly three years; when, at the suggestion of the people there, they removed to that section of the country, known as Caldwell county.

"Soon after Jackson county had rebelled against the laws and constitution, several of the adjoining counties followed her example by justifying her proceedings, and by opposing the saints in settling among them; and soon this rebellion became general in the upper country. The counties of Clay, Ray, Clinton, and various others, held public meetings, the tenor of which was, to deprive the members of our society of citizenship, and to drive them from among them, and force them to settle only in such places as the mob should dictate; and even at that time in some of their proceedings they went so far as to publicly threaten to drive the whole society from the state. The excuses they offered for these outrages, were,

"First---The society were principally guilty of being eastern or northern people.

"Second---They were guilty of some slight variations, in manners and language, from other citizens of the state.

"Third---Their religious principles differed in some important particulars from most other societies.

"Fourth---They were guilty of emigrating rapidly from the different states, and of purchasing large quantities of land, and of being more enterprising and industrious than some of their neighbours.

"Fifth---Some of our society were guilty of poverty, especially those who had been driven from time to time from their possessions, and robbed of their all.

"And lastly---They were said to be guilty of believing in the present government administration of Indian affairs, viz: that the land west of the Mississippi, which government has deeded in fee simple to the emigrating tribes, was destined by Providence for their permanent homes.

"All these crimes were charged upon our society, in the public proceedings of the several counties; and were deemed sufficient to justify their unlawful proceedings against us. The reader may smile at the statement, but the public journals published in that county, in 1835, actually printed charges and declarations against us of the tenor of the foregoing. By these wicked proceedings our people were once more compelled to remove, at a great sacrifice of property, and were at last permitted to settle in the north of Ray county; where, by the next legislature, they were organised into the counties of Caldwell and Davies. Here they again exerted the utmost industry and enterprise, and these wild regions soon presented a more flourishing aspect than the oldest counties of the upper country. In the mean time a majority of the state so far countenanced these outrages, that they actually elected Lilburn W. Boggs, one of the old mobbers of Jackson county, who had assisted in the treason, murder, and house-burning, plundering, robbery, and driving out of twelve hundred citizens, in 1833, for governor of the state, and placed him in the executive chair, instead of a solitary cell in the state penitentiary, as his crimes justly deserved. This movement may be said to have put an end to liberty, law, and government in that state.---*Pratt's History*, pp. 52, 53, and 54.

Here the people purchased out most of the former inhabitants, and also entered much of the wild land, (Public Domain.) Many soon owned a number of eighties, (eighty acres) while there was scarcely a man who did not secure to himself at least a forty, (forty acres.) Here we were permitted to enjoy peace for a season; but as our society increased in numbers, and settlements were made in Davies and Carroll counties, the mob spirit spread itself again.

For months previous to our giving up our arms to General Lucas' army, we heard little else, than rumors of mobs, collecting in different places, and threatening our people. It is well known, that the people of our church who had located themselves at De Witt, had to give up to a mob and leave the place, notwithstanding the militia were called out for their protection. From De Witt, the mob went towards Davies county, and while on their way there they took two of our men prisoners and made them ride upon the cannon, and told them that they would drive the Mormons from Davies to Caldwell and from Caldwell to hell, and that they would give them no quarter only at the cannon's mouth.

"They had one field-piece, and were headed by a Presbyterian priest by the name of Serciel Woods, who, it is said tended prayer night and morning, at the head of the gang. In this siege, they say that they killed a number of our people. They also turned one Smith Humphrey and his wife and children out of doors, when sick, and set fire to their house, and burned it to ashes before their eyes. At length they succeeded in driving every citizen from the place, to the sacrifice of every thing which they could not take with them.---*Pratt's History*, p. 61.

The threats of the mob induced some of our people to go to Davies to help to protect their brethren who had settled at Diahman, on Grand River.

The mob soon fled from Davies county; and after they were dispersed and the cannon taken, during which time no blood was shed, the people of Caldwell returned to their homes, in hopes of enjoying peace and quiet; but in this they were disappointed; for a large mob was soon found to be collecting on the Grindstone River, from ten to fifteen miles off, under the command of C. Gillman, a scouting party of which, came within four miles of Far West, and drove off stock belonging to our people, in open daylight. About this time word came to Far West, that a party of the mob had come into Caldwell county to the south of Far West—that they were taking horses and cattle—burning houses, and ordering the inhabitants to leave their homes



immediately—and that they had then actually in their possession three men prisoners. This report reached Far West in the evening, and was confirmed about midnight.\* A company of about sixty men went forth under the command of David W. Patten to disperse the mob, as they supposed.† A battle was the result, in which Capt. Patten and two of his men were killed, and others wounded. Bogart, it appears, had but one killed and others wounded. Notwithstanding the unlawful acts committed by Captain Bogart's men previous to the battle, it is now asserted and claimed that he was regularly ordered out as a militia captain, to preserve the peace along the line of Ray and Caldwell counties. That battle was fought four or five days previous to the arrival of General Lucas and his army. About the time of the battle with Captain Bogart, a number of our people who were living near Haun's mill, on Shoal Creek, about twenty miles below Far West, together with a number of emigrants who had been stopped there in consequence of the excitement, made an agreement with the mob which was about there, that neither party would molest the other, but dwell in peace. Shortly after this agreement was made, a mob party of from two to three hundred, many of whom are supposed to be from Chariton county, some from Davies, and also those who had agreed to dwell in peace, came upon our people there, whose number in men was about thirty, at a time they little expected any such thing, and without any ceremony, notwithstanding they begged for quarters, shot them down as they would tigers or panthers. Some few made their escape by fleeing. Eighteen were killed, and a number more severely wounded.

This tragedy was conducted in the most brutal and savage manner. An old man after the massacre was partially over, threw himself into their hands and begged for quarters, when he was instantly shot down: that not killing him they took an old corn cutter and literally mangled him to pieces. A lad of ten years of age, after being shot down, also begged to be spared, when one of them placed the muzzle of his gun to his head and blew out his brains. The slaughter of these people not satisfying the mob, they then proceeded to mob and plunder the people. The scene that presented itself after the massacre, to the widows and orphans of the killed, is beyond description. It was truly a time of weeping, of mourning, and of lamentation. As yet we have not heard of any being arrested for these murders, notwithstanding there are men boasting about the country, that they did on that occasion kill more than one Mormon, whereas, all our people who were in the battle with Captain Patten against Bogart, that can be found, have been arrested, and are now confined in jail to await their trial for murder.

The following extract of an affidavit of Mr. Joseph Young, contains some additional particulars in relation to this horrid massacre:—

"It was about four o'clock, while sitting in my cabin with my babe in my arms, and my wife standing by my side, the door being open, I cast my eyes on the opposite bank of Shoal-creek, and saw a large company of armed men, on horses, directing their course towards the mills with all possible speed. As they advanced through the scattering trees that stood on the edge of the prairie, they seemed to form themselves into a three-square position, forming a van guard in front. At this moment, David Evans, seeing the superiority of their numbers, (there being 240 of them, according to their own account,) swung his hat, and cried for peace. This not being heeded, they continued to advance, and their leader, Mr. Comstock, fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once, they discharged about 100 rifles, aiming at a blacksmith's shop into which our friends fled for safety; and charging up to the shop, the cracks of which between the logs were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had there fled for refuge from the fire of

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\* This mob was commanded by one Samuel Bogart, a Methodist Preacher, who told his men that in thus driving our brethren, they were doing God service.

† Captain Patten and his men were a part of the regularly organized militia of Caldwell county, and on this occasion were ordered out by Colonel George M. Hinkle, their legally authorised Colonel, who held his commission from the Governor of the State, but as Caldwell county was mostly settled by our brethren, of course they formed the principal part of its militia. In the United States, every male citizen, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, is obliged, by law, to perform military duty.

their murderers. There were several families tented in the rear of the shop, whose lives were exposed, and amidst a shower of bullets fled to the woods in different directions.

After standing and gazing on this bloody scene for a few minutes, and finding myself in the uttermost danger, the bullets having reached the house where I was living, I committed my family to the protection of Heaven, and leaving the house on the opposite side, I took a path which led up the hill, following in the trail of three of my brethren that had fled from the shop. While ascending the hill we were discovered by the mob, who immediately fired at us, and continued so to do till we reached the summit. In descending the hill I secreted myself in a thicket of bushes, where I lay till eight o'clock in the evening, at which time I heard a female voice calling my name in an undertone, telling me that the mob had gone, and there was no danger. I immediately left the thicket, and went to the house of Benjamin Lewis, where I found my family, (who had fled there,) in safety, and two of my friends mortally wounded, one of whom died before morning.

"Here we passed the painful night in deep and awful reflections on the scenes of the preceding evening. After daylight appeared, some four or five men, with myself, who had escaped with our lives from the horrid massacre, repaired as soon as possible to the mills, to learn the condition of our friends, whose fate we had but too truly anticipated.

"When we arrived at the house of Mr. Haun, we found Mr. Merrick's body lying in the rear of the house; Mr. M'Bride's in front, literally mangled from head to foot. We were informed by Miss Rebecca Judd, who was an eye witness, that he was shot with his own gun, after he had given it up, and then cut to pieces with a corn cutter, by a Mr. Rogers of Davies county, who keeps a ferry on Grand River, and who has since repeatedly boasted of this act of savage barbarity. Mr. York's body we found in the house, and after viewing these corpses, we immediately went to the blacksmith shop, where we found nine of our friends, eight of whom were already dead; the other, Mr. Cox, of Indiana, struggling in the agonies of death, who expired. We immediately prepared and carried them to the place of interment. This last office of kindness due to the relicts of departed friends was not attended with the customary ceremonies, nor decency, for we were in jeopardy, every moment expecting to be fired upon by the mob, who, we supposed, were lying in ambush, waiting for the first opportunity to dispatch the remaining few who were providentially preserved from the slaughter of the preceding day. However, we accomplished, without molestation, this painful task. The place of burying was a vault in the ground, formerly intended for a well, into which we threw the bodies of our friends promiscuously.

"Among those slain I will mention Sardius Smith, son of Warren Smith, about 9 years old, who, through fear, had crawled under the bellows in the shop, where he remained till the massacre was over, when he was discovered by a Mr. Glaze, of Carroll county, who presented his rifle near the boy's head and literally blew off the upper part of it. Mr. Stanley of Carroll told me afterwards that Glaze boasted of this fiendlike murder and heroic deed all over the country.

"The number killed and mortally wounded in this wanton slaughter was 18 or 19, whose names, as far as I recollect, were as follows: Thomas M'Bride, Levi Merrick, Elias Benner, Josiah Fuller, Benjamin Lewis, Alexander Campbell, Warren Smith, Sardius Smith, Geo. Richards, Mr. Napier, Mr. Harmer, Mr. Cox, Mr. Abbott, Mr. York, Wm. Merrick, (a boy 8 or 9 years old,) and three or four others, whose names I do not recollect, as they were strangers to me.

"Among the wounded who recovered were Isaac Laney, Nathan K. Knight, Mr. Yokum, two brothers by the name of Myers, Tarlton Lewis, Mr. Haun, and several others. Miss Mary Stedwell while fleeing was shot through the hand, and fainting, fell over a log, into which they shot upwards of twenty balls.

"To finish their work of destruction this band of murderers, composed of men from Davies, Livingston, Ray, Carroll, and Chariton counties, led by some of the principal men of that section of the upper country, (among whom I am informed were Mr. Ashby, from Chariton, member of the State Legislature, Col. Jennings of Livingston county, Thomas O. Bryon, Clerk of Livingston co., Mr. Whitney, Dr. Randal, and many others,) proceeded to rob the houses, wagons and tents, of bedding and clothing, drove off horses and wagons, leaving widows and orphans destitute of the necessities of life, and even stripped the clothing from the bodies of the slain!

"According to their own account, they fired *seven* rounds in this awful butchery,

making upwards of sixteen hundred shots at a little company of men, about thirty in number.

"I hereby certify the above to be a true statement of facts according to the best of my knowledge.

JOSEPH YOUNG.

"State of Illinois, County of Adams."

"I hereby certify that Joseph Young this day came before me and made oath in due form of law that the statements contained in the foregoing sheets are true according to the best of his knowledge and belief. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the Circuit Court at Quincy, this fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty nine.

"C. M. WOODS,

"Clerk Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois.

"P. S.—A younger brother of the boy here killed, aged eight, was shot through the hip. The little fellow himself states, that seeing his father and brother both killed he thought they would shoot him again if he stirred, and so feigned himself dead, and lay perfectly still, till he heard his mother call him after dark."---*Pratt's History*.

When General Lucas arrived near Far West, and presented the Governor's order we were greatly surprised, yet we felt willing to submit to the authorities of the state. We gave up our arms without reluctance; we were then made prisoners, and confined to the limits of the town for about a week, during which time the men from the country were not permitted to go to their families, many of whom were in a suffering condition for the want of food and firewood, the weather being cold and stormy. Much property was destroyed by the troops in town, during their stay there; such as burning house-logs, rails, corn-cribs, boards, &c., the using of corn and hay, the plundering of houses, the killing of cattle, sheep, and hogs, and also the taking of horses not their own, and all this without regard to owners, or asking leave of any one. In the mean time men were abused, women insulted and abused by the troops, and all this while we were kept prisoners. Whilst the town was guarded, we were called together by the order of General Lucas, and a guard placed close around us and in that situation, were compelled to sign a deed of trust for the purpose of making our individual property all holden, as they said, to pay all the debts of every individual belonging to the church, and also to pay for all damages the old inhabitants of Davies may have sustained, in consequence of the late difficulties in that county.

General Clark was now arrived; and the first important move made by him, was the collecting of our men together on the square, and selected out about fifty of them, whom he immediately marched into a house, and confined close; this was done without the aid of a sheriff or any legal process. The next day 46 of those taken were driven like a parcel of menial slaves off to Richmond, not knowing why they were taken, or what they were taken for.

"We were now marched to Far West, and each one was permitted to go with a guard and take a final leave of our families, in order to depart as prisoners, to Jackson county, a distance of some 60 miles. This was the most trying scene of all. I went to my house, being guarded by two or three soldiers. The rain was pouring down without, and on entering my little cottage, there lay my wife, sick of a fever, with which she had been for some time confined. At her breast was an infant three months old, and by her side a little girl three years of age. These constituted my household, no other person belonged to my family. On the foot of the same bed lay a woman in travail, who had been driven from her house in the night, and had taken momentary shelter in my little hut of ten feet square, (my larger house having been torn down.) I stepped to the bed—she burst into tears---I spake a few words of comfort, telling her to try to live for my sake, and her little babes, and expressing a hope that we should meet again, though years might separate us. She promised to try to live, and though an age should separate us, we would live for each other. I then kissed the little babes and departed. Till now I had refrained from weeping, but to be forced from so helpless a family, who were destitute of provisions and fuel, in a bleak prairie with none to assist them, and exposed to a lawless banditti, who were utter strangers to humanity, and this at the approach of winter, was more than nature could well bear. I went to General Wilson in tears, and stated the circumstances of my sick, heart-broken and destitute family, in terms which would have moved any heart that had a latent spark of humanity yet remaining. But I was only answered with an exulting laugh, and a taunt of triumph, from this hardened murderer.



"As I returned from my house towards the main body of the army who were to conduct us, I halted with the guard at the door of Hyrum Smith, and heard the sobs and groans of his wife, at his parting words. She was about to be confined in child-birth, when he left her to accompany us. As we returned to the wagon we saw S. Rigdon taking leave of his wife and daughters, who stood at a little distance in tears of anguish inexpressible; whilst in the wagon sat Joseph Smith; while his aged father and venerable mother came up overwhelmed in tears, and took us all by the hand.

"In the mean time, hundreds of the brethren crowded around us, anxious to take a parting look, or a silent shake of the hand, for feelings were too intense to allow of speech. In the midst of these scenes, orders were given, and we moved slowly on, surrounded by a brigade of Jackson and Van Buren county troops. After marching about twelve miles, we encamped for the night on Crooked River. Here General Wilson began to treat us more kindly; he became very sociable, conversing freely on the subject of his former murders and robberies, committed against us in Jackson. He did not pretend to deny any thing, but spoke upon the whole as frank as if he had been giving the history of something done in ages past, with which we were not personally concerned. He also informed us that he had been exhorted by many to hang us on the way to Jackson, but he should not suffer us to be injured. Indeed, it was now evident that he was proud of his prey, and felt highly enthusiastic in having the honor of returning in triumph to the town of Independence, with the exhibition of his prisoners, whom his superstition had magnified into Noble or Royal personages; who would be gazed upon as Kings, or as something supernatural.

"Next morning we were on our march, and in the after part of the day, we came to the Missouri River, which separated between Jackson county and us. Here the brigade was halted, and the prisoners taken to a public house, where we were permitted to shave our beards and change our linen, after which we partook of some refreshment. This done, we were hurried to the ferry, and across the river with the utmost haste when but a few of the troops had passed. This movement was soon explained to us. The truth was, General Clark had sent an express to take us from General Wilson, and, prevent us from going to Jackson, as both armies were competitors for the honor of possessing the wonderful, or in their estimation, Royal Prisoners. Clark and his troops from a distance, who had not arrived in the city of Far West till after our departure, was desirous of seeing the strange men, who it was said had turned the world upside down; and was desirous of the honor of possessing such a wonderful trophy of victory, or of putting us to death himself. And on the other hand Wilson, Lucas, and their troops, were determined to exhibit us in triumph through the streets of Independence. Therefore, when demanded by General Clark's express, they refused to surrender us, and hurried us across the ferry with all possible dispatch; after which, marching about a mile, we encamped in the wilderness for the night, with about fifty troops for our guard, the remainder not crossing the ferry till next morning.

Next morning being Sunday, we were visited by some gentlemen and ladies. One of the women came up and very candidly inquired of the troops, which of the prisoners was the Lord whom the Mormons worshipped? One of the guard pointed to Mr. Smith, with a significant smile, and said This is he. The woman then turning to Mr. S. inquired whether he professed to be the Lord and Saviour? Do not smile gentle reader, at the ignorance of these poor innocent creatures, who are thus kept under, and made to believe such absurdities by their men, and by their lying priests. Mr. S. replied, that he professed to be nothing but a man, and a minister of salvation sent by Jesus Christ to preach the gospel. This answer so surprised the woman that she began to inquire into our doctrine; and Mr. Smith preached a discourse both to her and her companions, and to the wondering soldiers who listened with almost breathless attention, while he set forth the doctrine of faith in Jesus Christ, and repentance and baptism for remission of sins, with the promise of the Holy Ghost, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. The woman was satisfied and praised God in the hearing of the soldiers, and went away praying that God would protect and deliver us. Thus was fulfilled a prophesy which had been spoken by Mr. Smith, a few months previous; for he had prophesied that a sermon would be preached in Jackson county, by one of our Elders, before the close of 1838.

"About 10 o'clock the brigade had all crossed the ferry and come up with us. We were then marched forward in our carriages, while the troops were formed in our front and rear, with quite a martial appearance. As we went through the settlements, hundreds of men, women, and children flocked to see us, and our General often halted the

whole brigade to introduce us to the ladies and gentlemen, pointing out each of his prisoners by name. We were often shaken by the hand ; and, in the ladies at least, there often appeared some feeling of sympathy. In this way we proceeded until we arrived at Independence. It was now past noon, and in the midst of a great rain. But hundreds crowded to witness the procession, and to gaze at us as we were paraded in martial triumph through all the principal streets—our carriages moving in the centre, while the brigade on horseback was formed in front and rear, and the bugles sounded a blast of triumphant joy.

“ This ceremony being finished, a vacant house was prepared for our reception, into which we were ushered through the crowd of spectators who thronged every avenue. The troops were then disbanded. In the mean time we were kept under a small guard, and were treated with some degree of hospitality and politeness, while thousands flocked to see us day by day. We spent most of our time in preaching and conversation, explanatory of our doctrines and practice, which removed mountains of prejudice, and enlisted the populace in our favor, notwithstanding their old hatred and wickedness to our Society.

“ We were soon at liberty to walk the streets without a guard ; and soon we were removed from our house of confinement to a hotel, where we were entertained in the best style of which the place was capable, which was lodging on the floor, and a block of wood for a pillow. We had no longer any guard—we went out and came in when we pleased, a certain keeper being appointed merely to look to us ; with him we walked out of town and visited the desolate lands which belonged to our Society, and the place which, seven years before, we had dedicated and consecrated for the building of a temple, it being a beautiful rise of ground, about half a mile west of Independence. When we saw it last it was a wilderness, but now our enemies had robbed it of every stick of timber and it presented a beautiful rolling field of pasture, being covered with grass. Oh how many feelings did this spot awaken in our bosoms ! Here we had often bowed the knee in prayer to Jehovah in by-gone years ; and here we had assembled with hundreds of happy saints, in the solemn meeting, and offered our prayers, and songs, and sacraments, in our humble dwellings ; but now all was solemn and lonely desolation ; not a vestige remained to mark the place where stood our former dwellings ; they had long since been consumed by fire, or removed to the village and converted to the use of our enemies. While at Independence we were once or twice invited to dine with Gen. Wilson, and others, which we did with much apparent politeness and attention on their part, and much cheerfulness on our own.

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## CHAPTER IV.

“ After about a week spent in this way, during which I was at one time alone in the wilderness, more than a mile from town, we were at length (after repeated demands) sent to General Clark, at Richmond. This place was on the same side of the Missouri that Far West was, and about thirty miles distant. Generals Lucas and Wilson had tried in vain to get a guard to accompany us ; none would volunteer, and when drafted, they would not obey orders ; for, in truth, they wished us to go at liberty. At last a colonel and two or three officers started with us, with their swords and pistols, which was more to protect us than to keep us from escaping. On this journey some of us rode in carriages, and some on horseback. Sometimes we were sixty or eighty rods in front or rear of our guard, who, by the by, were three sheets in the wind, in the whiskey line, having a bottle in their pockets ; but knowing that we were not guilty of any crime, we did not wish to escape by flight. At night, having crossed the ferry, we put up at a private house. Here our guards all went to bed and to sleep, leaving us their pistols to defend ourselves in case of any attack from without, as we were in a very hostile neighborhood.

Next morning we rode a few miles, and were met by an express from Gen. Clark, at Richmond, consisting of Col. Price and a company of soldiers, who immediately surrounded us with poised pieces, in regular military order, as if we had been Bonaparte and his body guards, on a march to St. Helena ; thinking perhaps, that if we could es-



eape, the whole United States and all Europe would be immediately overthrown. In this way we were escorted to Richmond, the head Quarters of Maj. Gen. Clark and his army, which was composed of three or four thousand men. Here, as usual, we had to endure the gaze of the curious, as if we had been a caravan of exhibiting animals. We were conducted with some military parade, into a block house; and immediately put in chains, besides a strong guard, who stood over us night and day, with presented rifles and pistols. We were soon introduced to Gen. Clark, who seemed more haughty, unfeeling, and reserved, than even Lucas or Wilson.

We inquired of the General what were his intentions concerning us? I stated to him that we had now been captives for many days, and we knew not wherefore; nor whether we were considered prisoners of war, or prisoners of civil process, or prisoners of hope; at the same time remarking that all was wrapt in mystery; for as citizens of the United States, and of Missouri, in time of peace, we could not be considered as prisoners of war; and without civil process, we were not holden by civil authority; and as to being prisoners of hope, there was but little chance to hope from present appearances. He replied that we were taken in order to be tried. "Tried? by what authority?" I inquired. "By court martial," said he.—"What!" said I, "ministers of the gospel, who sustained no office or rank in military affairs, and who are not even subject by law to military duty, to be tried by a court martial, and this in time of peace, and in a republic where the constitution guarantees to every citizen the right of trial by jury?" "Yes," said he, "this is according to the treaty stipulations entered into at Far West, at the time of your surrender, and as agreed to by Col. Hinkle, your commanding officer." "Colonel Hinkle, our commanding officer?" inquired I, "what has he to do with our civil rights? he was only the colonel of the Caldwell militia." "Why," said the General, "was he not the commanding officer of the fortress of Far West, the head quarters of the Mormon forces?" I replied that "we had no fortress, nor Mormon forces, but were part of the militia of the state of Missouri;" at which the General seemed surprised, and the conversation ended.

We were astonished above measure at proceedings so utterly ignorant and devoid of all law or justice. Here was a Major General, selected by the governor of Missouri, and sent to banish or exterminate a religious society. And then to crown the whole with inconceivable absurdity, this officer and his staff considered the state of Missouri a separate independent government, having a right to treat with a foreign nation, a right which belongs only to the United States, and not to any one state in the Union. And then to cap the climax, he considers the Mormons a nation distinct from all other governments; and, in fact, enters into a treaty with the colonel of one of the regiments of their own state Militia, which was at that time under his immediate command, as a part of his own force. Thus Colonel Hinkle, is converted into a foreign minister, an envoy extraordinary, in behalf of the Mormon empire, to enter into treaty stipulations with his Missouri Majesty's forces, under Generals Lucas, Wilson, and Clark. The city of Far West, the capital of Mormonia, is the Ghent where this treaty of peace is ratified. After which the standing army of Mormonia stack their arms, which are carried in triumph to Richmond. The royal family, and other nobles, are surrendered in this treaty to be tried by court martial and punished, and the inhabitants of the fallen empire, like those of Poland, are to be banished to Illinois, instead of Siberia. But this banishment (more cruel than that of Poland by the Russians) is to include every man, woman and child of the whole empire, with the exception of a few who are retained in prison, and their women and children sent off from their homes and firesides to wander alone. And at the same time a deed of trust is drawn up, and all the Mormons are compelled, on pain of death, to sign away their houses, lands, and property, for the disposal of their conquerors.

We found on our arrival at Richmond, that all these things had actually taken place; and in addition to all the rest of these unheard of outrages, eighteen of our citizens had been shot dead at Haun's Mill, in Caldwell county, and many others wounded, all this without making any resistance. The circumstances of this massacre were as follows: some two hundred robbers, on hearing of the governor's order for extermination, rushed suddenly upon some of our society, who, on seeing them approach, took shelter in a log building which had been occupied as a blacksmith's shop. On seeing their enemies approach in a hostile manner, they cried for quarters, but were instantly fired upon, and when most of them had fallen, and were lying in heaps, in the agonies of death, the murderers put their guns through the crevices between the logs, and shot the dead and

dying through and through, as a token of bravery, and also to glut their bloodthirsty disposition.

A little boy had crawled under the bellows in hopes to escape; but, on being discovered, he was instantly shot. Another little boy, of nine years of age, whose father (Warren Smith) had just fell dead, cried out to the enemy to spare his life; but they replied, "Kill him—G—d d—n it, kill him—he is the son of a d—d Mormon!" At this they shot his head all open and laid him sprawling by his father; thus leaving Mrs. Smith to mourn the loss of husband and child both at once. This was a worthy family, from Ohio, who had long been near neighbors to me; and better neighbors I never had. About the same time, an old soldier of the revolution, by the name of McBride, came up to them and begged for his life; but they hewed him in pieces with some old pieces of a scythe. The women fled, but were fired upon; and one young lady (Mary Steadwell, from Ohio, who was a worthy lady, and had been a member of my family,) was shot in the hand while fleeing, and fell behind a log in time to save her life, just as a shower of balls struck it.

The robbers then loaded themselves with household plunder and departed. These particulars are as we have learned them; but being confined in prison, we lack much information on the subject of the Hauns' Mill massacre, which will doubtless be given in the writings of others. Now to return to the subject as we left it at Richmond.

I must not forget to state that when we arrived at Richmond as prisoners, there were some fifty others, mostly heads of families, who had been marched from Caldwell on foot, and were now penned up in a cold, open, unfinished court house; in which situation they remained for some weeks, while their families were suffering every thing but death. The next morning after my dialogue with Gen. Clark, he again entered our prison and informed us that he had concluded to deliver us over to the civil authorities for an examining trial. I then asked him why he did not do away the unlawful decree of banishment which was first offered by Gen. Lucas, in compliance with the governor's order, compelling all our people to leave the state by the next spring? He replied that he approved of all the proceedings of Gen. Lucas and should not alter them. I make this statement, because many writers have commended Clark for his heroic, merciful, and prudent conduct towards our society, and have endeavored to make it appear that Clark was not to be blamed for any of the measures of Lucas.

The Court of Inquiry now commenced, before Judge A. A. King. This continued from the 11th to the 28th of November, during which we were kept most of the time in chains, and our brethren, some fifty in number, were penned up in the open, unfinished court house.

"It was a very severe spell of snow and winter weather, and we suffered much. During this time Elder Rigdon was taken very sick, from hardship and exposure, and finally lost his reason; but still he was kept in a miserable, noisy, and cold room, and compelled to sleep on the floor with a chain and padlock round his ankle, and fastened to six others; and here he endured the constant noise and confusion of an unruly guard who were changed every few hours, and who were frequently composed of the most noisy, foul-mouthed, vulgar, disgraceful, indecent rabble, that ever defiled the earth. While he lay in this situation, his son-in-law, George Robinson, the only male member of his numerous family, was chained by his side; and thus Mrs. Rigdon and her daughters were left entirely destitute and unprotected. One of his daughters, Mrs. Robinson, a young and delicate female, with her little infant, came down to see her husband, and to comfort and take care of her father in his sickness. When she first entered the room, amid the clank of chains and the bristle of weapons, and cast her eyes on her sick and dejected parent, and sorrow worn husband, she was speechless, and only gave vent to her feelings in a flood of tears. This faithful lady, with her little infant, continued by the bed of her father till he recovered from his sickness, and till his fevered and disordered mind assumed its wonted powers of intellect.

"In this mock Court of Inquiry, the judge could not be prevailed on to examine the conduct of the murderers, robbers, and plunderers, who had desolated our society: nor would he receive testimony except against us. And by the dissenters and apostates who wished to save their own lives and secure their property at the expense of others; and by those who had murdered and plundered us from time to time, he obtained an abundance of testimony, much of which was entirely false. Our church organization was converted, by such testimony, into a temporal kingdom, which was to fill the whole earth, and subdue all other kingdoms. Much was inquired by the judge (who, by-the-by



was a Methodist,) concerning the prophesy—"In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces all other kingdoms and stand forever," &c.\* "And the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High," &c.† These texts, and many others, were inquired into with all the eagerness and apparent alarm which characterized a Herod of old, who feared a rival in the person of King Jesus, and who, after inquiring diligently into the prophecies concerning the birth of Christ, and on learning that Bethlehem was the honored place designated by the Jewish oracles for the birth place of Messiah, and on learning from the wise men of the east that he was already born, sent forth a cruel order for the extermination of the children of Bethlehem, from two years old and under. In this way Herod thought to falsify the oracles of God—to destroy the King of the Jews, and maintain his own usurpation of power. But, lo! he was disappointed. The angel of the Lord had caused the father and mother, and infant to flee into Egypt. So this cruel judge decreed the destruction of the Church and Kingdom of God, in the last days. But we shall see, in the sequel, that those whose destruction was firmly decreed (by Gov. Boggs, the modern Herod, and his wicked coadjutors,) fled into Illinois, instead of Egypt; for the predictions of Daniel and others must be fulfilled now, as well as those concerning Christ were fulfilled, in spite of judges and governors.

Much inquiry was also had concerning our sending Missionaries to all nations to preach the Gospel. And after all these inquiries, our religion was converted by false testimony and by false coloring, into treason against the State of Missouri; and like the Pharisees of old, all these modern ignoramuses seemed to think, "if we let them thus alone all men will believe on them, and the Mormons will come and take away our place and nation." Here let me remark that it is, and ever has been, the firm and expressed belief of our society, that religion is one thing, and politics another, and that the laws of all governments should be respected and obeyed, so long as their administration protects the lives and property of their citizens, until the end of the world, when Christ will reign as King of Kings and Lord of Lords.—But if self-defence and opposition to tyranny and oppression amounts to treason, then I for one, am a traitor with every feeling of my heart; for had I the power, I would restore the supremacy of the laws and constitution, which have been violated by the authorities of Missouri. Justice should be administered to the guilty Governor, Generals, Judges, and others, who have murdered, plundered, and driven us; and those who have suffered should be restored to their rights and their possessions, and the damages should be paid them. Mark the saying, I am opposed to the unlawful proceedings of the highest authorities of Missouri and would glory in laying down my life in opposing such abominations.

"But to return to my narrative: At the close of the Court of Inquiry, some twenty or thirty were dismissed, among whom were A. Lyman, one of our number who had been with us in our captivity, and in our chains, and some twenty others were let to bail; and Messrs. Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, and Alexander M'Rae, were committed to the jail of Clay county, on the charge of treason. And Messrs. Morris Phelps, Luman Gibbs, Darwin Chase, Norman Shearer and myself, were committed to the jail of Richmond, being accused of treason and of defending ourselves in the battle with Bogart and his company.

This done, the civil and military authorities dispersed, and the troubled waters became a little more tranquil. As our people were compelled by the memorable treaty of Far West, to leave the state by the following spring, they now commenced moving by hundreds and by thousands, to the state of Illinois, where they were received in the most humane and friendly manner by the authorities, and by the citizens in general. Mean time, bands of murderers, thieves, and robbers, were roaming unrestrained among the unarmed and defenceless citizens; committing all manner of plunder, and driving off cattle, sheep, and horses—abusing and insulting women, etc.

"My wife and children soon came to me in prison, and spent most of the winter with me in the dark, cold and filthy dungeon, where myself and fellow prisoners were constantly insulted and abused by our dastardly guards, who often threatened to shoot, hang us, &c.

"The state Legislature were soon in session, and from this body, so high in responsibility, we had hoped for some redress or protection. But what was our astonishment,

when, after much noisy debate on the subject, they refused to investigate the matter, and actually became partakers of the same crimes by passing a law appropriating 200,000 dollars for the payment of the troops engaged in this unlawful, unconstitutional and treasonable enterprise. This last act of unheard of outrage, sealed with eternal infamy, the character of the state of Missouri, and established her downfall, to rise no more. She will be looked upon by her sister states as a star fallen from heaven, and a ruined and degraded outcast from the federal union.—While the whole civilized world will detest and abhor her, as the most infamous of tyrants. Nay, tyranny itself will blush to hear her deeds mentioned in the annals of history; and the most cruel persecutors of the Christians or reformers, in Pagan or Papal Rome, will startle with astonishment from their long slumbers, and with a shudder of the deepest horror, and a frown of the indignant contempt, they will look upon her unheard of deeds of blind infatuation, and inconceivable absurdity. The spirits of the ancient martyrs will hail their brethren of Latter Day Saints, as greater sufferers than themselves, and the blood of ancient and modern saints, will mingle together in cries for vengeance, upon those who are drunken with their blood, till justice will delay no longer to execute his long suspended mission of vengeance upon the earth.

“These disgraceful proceedings of the legislature were warmly opposed by a large minority of the House, among whom were D. R. Atchison, of Clay county, and all the members from St. Louis, and Messrs. Rollins and Gordon, from Boone, and by various other members from other counties, but the mob majority carried the day, for the guilty wretches feared an investigation, knowing that it would endanger their lives and liberties.

“Many of the state journals have tried to hide the iniquity of the state, by throwing a covering of lies over her atrocious deeds. But can they hide the Governor’s cruel order for extermination or banishment? Can they conceal the facts of the disgraceful treaty of the Generals, with their own officers and men, at the city of Far West? Can they conceal the fact that twelve or fifteen thousand men, women and children, have been banished from the state without trial or condemnation; and this at an expense of two hundred thousand dollars, and this sum appropriated by the state Legislature, in order to pay the troops for this act of lawless outrage? Can they conceal the fact that we have been imprisoned for many months, while our families, friends and witnesses have been driven away? Can they conceal the blood of the murdered husbands and fathers; or stifle the cries of the widow and the fatherless? Nay! The rocks and mountains may cover them in unknown depths—the awful abyss of the fathomless deep may swallow them up—and still their horrid deeds will stand forth in the broad light of day, for the wondering gaze of angels and of men! They cannot be hid!

“Mr. Smith and his fellow prisoners in Clay county, applied for a writ of habeas corpus to have their cases examined as to why they were in confinement. At this trial, Mr. Rigdon was let to bail under bonds of two thousand dollars, and the rest were about to be dismissed, but the mob was so violent as to threaten the lives of the Judges if they let them go. Therefore they were detained. In April, having been confined near six months, they were taken to Davies county, to be tried by a band of robbers, under the name of Grand Jury. Here a bill was soon found against them for high treason, and various other offences.—Their venue was then changed, and they were sent towards Columbia, Boone county, for trial. This was some 120 miles down the country, towards Illinois. On their way to this place, they all made their escape from the sheriff and three guards. Some say that the guards got beastly drunk, and let them escape. Others, that they were bought for the paltry sum of 250 dollars, but be this as it may, they escaped unhurt, and arrived safe in Illinois, where they were kindly received, and welcomed by the governor, and by the community, as men who had escaped from a long and terrible persecution. After being confined in Richmond more than two weeks, about one half were liberated; the rest, after another week’s confinement, were, most of them, required to appear at court, and have since been let to bail.—*Pratt’s History.*

Since Gen. Clark withdrew his troops from Far West, parties of armed men have gone through the county, driving off horses, sheep and cattle, and also plundering houses. The barbarity of General Lucas’ troops ought not to be passed over in silence. They shot our cattle and hogs merely for the sake of destroying them, and leaving them for the ravens to eat. They took prisoner an aged man by the name of Tanner, and without any reason for it, he was struck over the head with a gun, which laid his skull bare. Another man by the name of Carey was also taken prisoner by them, and with-

out any provocation, had his brains dashed out with a gun. He was laid in a wagon, and there permitted to remain for the space of twenty four hours, during which time no one was permitted to administer to him comfort or consolation, and after he was removed from that situation he lived but a few hours. The destruction of property, at and about Far West, is very great. Many are stripped bare as it were, and others partially so; indeed, take us as a body, at this time, we are a poor and afflicted people, and if we are compelled to leave the state in the spring, many, ycs, a large portion of our society, will have to be removed at the expense of the state, as those who otherwise might have helped them, are now debarred that privilege in consequence of the deed of trust we were compelled to sign, which deed so operates upon our real estate, that it will sell for little or nothing at this time. We have now made a brief statement of some of the most prominent features of the troubles that have befallen our people since their first settlement in this state, and we believe that these persecutions have come in consequence of our religious faith, and not for any immorality on our part. That instances have been of late, where individuals have trespassed on the rights of others and thereby broken the laws of the land, we will not pretend to deny, but yet we do believe that no crime can be substantiated against any of the people who have a standing in our church, of an earlier date than the difficulties in Davies county. And when it is considered that the rights of this people have been trampled upon from time to time, with impunity, and abuses heaped upon them almost innumerable, it ought in some degree, to palliate for any infraction of the law, which may have been made on the part of our people.

The late order of Gov. Boggs, to drive us from this state, or exterminate us, is a thing so novel, unlawful, tyrannical and oppressive, that we have been induced to draw up this memorial and present this statement of our case to your honorable body praying that a law may be passed rescinding the order of the governor to drive us from the state, and also giving us the sanction of the legislature to inherit our lands in peace. We ask an expression of the legislature, disapproving the conduct of those who compelled us to sign a deed of trust, and also disapproving of any man or set of men taking our property in consequence of that deed of trust, and appropriating it to the payment of debts not contracted by us, or for the payment of damages sustained in consequence of trespasses committed by others. We have no common stock, our property is individual property, and we feel willing to pay our debts as other individuals do, but we are not willing to be bound for other people's debts also.

The arms which were taken from us here, which we understand to be about 630, besides swords and pistols, we care not so much about, as we do the pay for them; only we are bound to do military duty, which we are willing to do, and which we think was sufficiently manifested by the raising of a volunteer company last fall, at Far West, when called upon by Gen. Parks, to raise troops for the frontier.

The arms given up by us, we consider were worth between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars, but we understand they have been greatly damaged since taken, and at this time probably would not bring near their former value. And as they were, both here and in Jackson county, taken by the militia, and consequently by the authority of the state, we therefore ask your honorable body to cause an appropriation to be made by law, whereby we may be paid for them, or otherwise have them returned us and the damages made good. The losses sustained by our people in leaving Jackson county, are so situated that it is impossible to obtain any compensation for them by law, because those who have sustained them are unable to prove those trespasses upon individuals. That the facts do exist,—that the buildings, crops, stock, furniture rails, timber, &c., of the society have been destroyed in Jackson county, is not doubted by those who are acquainted in this upper country, and since these trespasses cannot be proved upon individuals, we ask your honorable body to consider this case, and if, in your liberality and wisdom, you can conceive it to be proper to make an appropriation by law to these sufferers, many of whom are still pressed down with poverty in consequence of their losses, would be able to pay their debts, and also in some degree be relieved from poverty and woe, whilst the widow's heart would be made to rejoice, and the orphan's tear measurable dried up, and the prayers of a grateful people ascend on high, with thanksgiving and praise, to the Author of our existence, for that beneficent act.

In laying our case before your honorable body, we say, that we are willing, and ever have been to conform to the constitution and laws of the United States and of this state. We ask in common with others, the protection of the laws. We ask for the privilege guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this state, to be extended to us, that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God



according to the dictates of our conscience, without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege, we are willing all others should enjoy the same.

We now lay our case at the feet of your legislature, and ask your honorable body to consider it, and do for us, after mature consideration, that which your wisdom, patriotism, and philanthropy may dictate. And we, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

EDWARD PARTRIDGE,  
 HEBER C. KIMBALL,  
 JOHN TAYLOR,  
 THEODORE TURLEY,  
 BRIGHAM YOUNG,  
 ISAAC MORLEY,  
 GEORGE W. HARRIS,  
 JOHN MURDOCK,  
 JOHN M. BURK.

A committee appointed by the citizens of Caldwell county to draft this memorial, and sign it on their behalf.

Far West, Caldwell co., Mo., Dec. 10, 1838.

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## CHAPTER V.

The foregoing petition was presented to the legislature of Missouri, but they turned a deaf ear to it, and while many of our brethren were imprisoned, the whole body of the society in that state, numbering from 12 to 15,000, was obliged to flee to the state of Illinois, a distance of about 250 miles, and this to, in mid-winter, the ground covered with snow and frost, the most of them on foot, without sufficient clothing or food, and such was the intenseness of their sufferings that some perished by the way, and for want of the necessary means to give them burial, they were obliged to leave some of them on the prairie for the wolves to eat, and there their bones lie bleaching to this day, a spectacle to God, and to his holy angels. The afflicted remnant, who lived through this fearful persecution, and escaped into Illinois, were received with some show of kindness by the people of that state, as will be seen by the following extracts from their papers.

*From the Quincy (Illinois) Argus, March 16, 1839.*

We give in to-day's paper the details of the recent bloody tragedy acted in Missouri—the details of a scene of terror and blood unparelled in the annals of modern, and under the circumstances of the case, in ancient history—a tragedy of so deep and fearful, and absorbing interest, that the very life-blood of the heart is chilled at the simple contemplation. We are prompted to ask ourselves if it be really *true*, that we are living in an enlightened, a humane, and civilised age—in an age and quarter of the world boasting of its progress in every thing good, and great, and honorable, and virtuous, and high-minded—in a country of which, as American citizens, we would be proud—whether we are living under a Constitution and Laws, or have not rather returned to the *ruthless* times of the *stern Atilla*—to the times of the fiery Hun, when the sword and flame ravaged the fair fields of Italy and Europe, and the darkest passions held full revel in all the revolting scenes of unchecked brutality and unbridled desire?

We have no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our indignation and shame at the recent transactions in a sister state---and that state Missouri---a state of which we had long been proud, alike for her men and history, but now so *fallen* that we could wish her star stricken out from the bright constellation of the Union. We say, we know of no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our shame and abhorrence of her recent conduct. She has written her own character in *letters of blood*---and stained it by acts of merciless cruelty and brutality that the waters of ages

cannot efface. It will be observed that an organized mob aided by many of the civil and military officers of Missouri, with Governor Boggs at their head, have been the prominent actors in this business, incited, as it appears, against the Mormons by political hatred, and by the additional motives of plunder and revenge. They have but too well put in execution their threats of extermination and expulsion, and fully wreaked their vengeance on a body of industrious and enterprising men, who had never wronged, nor wished to wrong them, but on the contrary had ever comported themselves as good and honest citizens, living under the same laws and having the same right with themselves to the sacred immunities of life, liberty, and property.

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*Proceedings in the town of Quincy for the purpose of affording relief to the people usually denominated "The Latter Day Saints."*

At a meeting of the Democratic Association, held on Saturday evening, the 23rd ultimo, Mr. Lindsay introduced a resolution setting forth, that the people called "The Latter Day Saints," were many of them in a situation requiring the aid of the citizens of Quincy, and recommending that measures be adopted for their relief; which resolution was adopted, and a committee consisting of eight persons appointed by the chair---of which committee J. W. Whitney was chairman. The association then adjourned to meet on Wednesday evening next, after instructing the committee to procure the Congregational meeting-house as a place of meeting, and to invite as many of the people to attend the meeting as should choose to do so, in whose behalf the meeting was to be held, and also all others, citizens of the town. The committee not being able to obtain the meeting-house, procured the court-house for that purpose.

Wednesday, Feb. 27th, 1839,

6 o'clock, P.M.

The members of the Democratic Association, and the citizens of Quincy generally, assembled in the court-house to take into consideration, the state and condition of the people called "The Latter Day Saints," and organized the meeting by appointing Gen. Leach, chairman, and James D. Morgan, secretary.

Mr. Whitney, from the committee appointed at a former meeting, submitted the following report.

The select committee, to whom the subject was referred of inquiring into and reporting the situation of the persons who have recently arrived here from Missouri, and whether their circumstances are such, as that they would need the aid of the citizens of Quincy and its vicinity, to be guided by what they deem the principles of an expanded benevolence, have attended to the duties assigned them, and have concluded on the following

### REPORT.

The first idea that occurred to your committee, was to obtain correctly the facts of the case, for without them the committee could come to no conclusions, as to what it might be proper for us to do. Without them they could form no basis upon which the committee might recommend to this association what might be proper for us to do, or what measures to adopt.

The committee, soon after their appointment, sent invitations to Mr. Rigdon, and several others, to meet the committee and give them a statement of the facts, and to disclose their situation. Those individuals accordingly met the committee, and entered into a free conversation and disclosure of the facts of their situation, and after some time spent therein, the committee concluded to adjourn and report to this meeting, but not without requesting those individuals to draw up and send us, in writing, a condensed statement of the facts relative to the subjects in charge of your committee, which those individuals engaged to do, and which the committee request may be taken as part of their report. That statement is herewith lettered A.

The committee believe that our duties at this time, and on this occasion, are all included within the limits of an expanded benevolence and humanity, and which are guided and directed by that charity which never faileth. From the facts already disclosed, independent of the statement furnished to the committee, we feel it our duty

to recommend to this association that they adopt the following resolutions :---

Resolved, That the strangers recently arrived here from the state of Missouri, known by the name of "The Latter Day Saints," are entitled to our sympathy and kindest regard, and that we recommend to the citizens of Quincy to extend to them all the kindness in their power to bestow, as persons who are in affliction.

Resolved, That a numerous committee be raised, composed of some individuals in every quarter of the town and its vicinity, whose duty it shall be to explain to them, that these people have no design to lower the wages of the laboring class, but to procure something to save them from starving.

Resolved, That a standing committee be raised, and be composed of individuals who immediately inform Mr. Rigdon and others, as many as they think proper, of their appointment; and who shall be authorised to obtain information from time to time, and should they be of opinion that any individuals, either from destitution or sickness, or if they find them houseless, that they appeal directly and promptly to the citizens of Quincy to furnish them with the means to relieve all such cases.

Resolved, That the committee last aforesaid, be instructed to use their utmost endeavors to obtain employment for all these people who are able and willing to labour, and also to afford them all needful, suitable, and proper encouragement.

Resolved, That we recommend to all the citizens of Quincy, that in all their intercourse with the strangers, that they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expressions calculated to wound their feelings, or in any other way to reflect upon those, who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.

All which is submitted.

J. W. WHITNEY, Chairman.

*Quincy, February 27, 1839.*

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(A.)

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This, gentlemen, is a brief outline of the difficulties that we have labored under, in consequence of the repeated persecutions that have been heaped upon us; and as the Governor's exterminating order has not been rescinded, we, as a people, were obliged to leave the state, and with it, our lands, corn, wheat, pork, &c., that we had provided for ourselves and families, together with our fodder, which we had collected for our cattle, horses, &c.—those of them that we have been able to preserve from the wreck of that desolation which has spread itself over Davies and Caldwell counties.

In consequence of our brethren's being obliged to leave the State, and as a sympathy and friendly spirit has been manifested by the citizens of Quincy, numbers of our brethren, glad to obtain an assylum from the hand of persecution, have come to this place.

We cannot but express our feelings of gratitude to the inhabitants of this place for the friendly feelings which have been manifested, and the benevolent hand which has been stretched out to a poor, oppressed, injured, and persecuted people; and as you, gentlemen of the Democratic Association, have felt interested in our welfare, and have desired to be put in possession of a knowledge of our situation, our present wants, and what would be most conducive to our present good, together with what led to those difficulties, we thought that those documents\* would furnish you with as correct information of our difficulties and what led to them, as any that we are in possession of.

If we should say what our presents wants are, it would be beyond all calculation, as we have been robbed of our corn, wheat, horses, cattle, cows, hogs, wearing apparel, houses and homes, and indeed, of all that renders life tolerable.---We do not, we cannot expect to be placed in the situation that we once were, nor are we capable, of ourselves, of supplying the many wants of those of our poor brethren, who are daily crowding here and looking to us for relief, in consequence of our property, as well as theirs, being in the hands of a ruthless and desolating mob.

It is impossible to give an exact account of the widows, and those that are entirely destitute, as there are so many coming here daily; but, from inquiry, the probable amount will be something near twenty, besides numbers of others who are able-bodied

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\* Alluding to a memorial and other documents.



men, both able and willing to work, to obtain a subsistence, yet owing to their peculiar situation, are destitute of means to supply the immediate wants that the necessities of their families call for. We would not propose, gentlemen, what you shall do, but after making these statements, shall leave it to your own judgment and generosity.

As to what we think would be the best means to promote our permanent good, we think that to give us employment, rent us farms, and allow us the protection and privileges of other citizens, would raise us from a state of dependence, liberate us from the iron grasp of poverty, put us in possession of a competency, and deliver us from the ruinous effects of persecution, despotism and tyranny.

Written in behalf of a committee of "The Latter Day Saints."

E. HIGBEE, President.

J. P. GREENE, Clerk.

To the Quincy Democratic Association.

Mr. Rigdon then made a statement of the wrongs received by the Mormons, from a portion of the people of Missouri, and of their present suffering condition.

On motion of Mr. Bushnell, the report and resolutions were laid upon the table, till to-morrow evening.

On motion of Mr. Bushnell, the meeting adjourned to meet at this place on to-morrow evening, at seven o'clock.

THURSDAY EVENING, Feb. 23.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman.

On motion of Mr. Morris, a committee of three was appointed to take up a collection; Messrs. J. T. Holmes, Whitney, and Morris, were appointed.

The committee subsequently reported that 48 dollars 26 cents had been collected.

On motion, the amount was paid over to the committee on behalf of the Mormons.

On motion of Mr. Holmes, a committee of three, consisting of S. Holmes, Bushnell and Morris, were appointed to draw up subscription papers and circulate them among the citizens, for the purpose of receiving contributions in clothing and provisions.

On motion, six were added to that committee.

On motion of J. T. Holmes, J. D. Morgan was appointed a committee to wait upon the Quincy Greys, for the purpose of receiving subscriptions.

Mr. Morgan subsequently reported that 20 dollars had been subscribed by that company.

The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. T. J. Holmes.

Resolved, That we regard the rights of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacred guaranteed by the constitution of our free government.

Resolved, That we regard the acts of all mobs as flagrant violations of law, and those who compose them, individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man for every depredation committed upon the property, rights, or life of any citizen.

Resolved, That the inhabitants upon the Western Frontier of the State of Missouri in their late persecutions of the class of people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience, and every law of justice and humanity.

Resolved, That the Gov. of Missouri in refusing protection to this class of people when pressed upon by an heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the state over which he presides.

The resolutions were supported in a spirited manner by Messrs. Holmes, Morris and Whitney.

On motion, the resolutions were adopted.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

SAMUEL LEACH, Chairman.

J. D. MORGAN, Secretary.

The following letter was written by a gentleman, not a member of our society.

LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN AT THE WEST TO HIS FRIEND IN BOSTON.

(From the Boston Atlas.)

Dear Sir,—You ask me for information concerning the Mormon troubles in Missouri. In giving it, I shall be compelled to state particulars, that will stagger your belief;

and I shall be betrayed into a warmth of expression, which may be construed into the signs of partizan bitterness, but which will be, in truth, only the language of honest indignation. The series of wrongs and outrages perpetrated on the Mormons, and the closing act of injustice, by which those wrongs and outrages were suffered to escape, not only unpunished but triumphant, from the elements of *persecution*, which in vain seeks a parallel in the history of our country. For example of similar outrages on the rights of justice and humanity, I am compelled to resort to barbarous nations and dark ages, which alone furnish precedents to excuse the conduct of the people of Missouri.

The Mormons, I need not say, are a weak and credulous people, whose chief fault is the misfortune of having become the dupes of a villainous impostor.\* They have an excess of that, as to which the world at large is exceedingly deficient, i.e., *faith*. They have been misled; and they are to be pitied. But I have yet to learn that their faith taught them immorality. I have yet to learn that it encouraged disobedience to the laws or encroachments on the rights of any fellow citizen.

The Mormons were, in truth, a moral, orderly, and sober population. They were industrious farmers and ingenious mechanics. They were busy about their own affairs, and never intermeddled in the concerns of their neighbors. They were exceedingly peaceful and averse to strife, quarrels, and violence. They had established schools, they encouraged education; and they had all the rudiments of learning, taught under our school system at the East. They had begun to open fine farms, and put their lands in a high state of improvement. Many of them were surrounded by numerous comforts, and some with even the elegancies of life.

*In all these respects their condition presented a broad contrast to that of their neighbors.* Of these neighbors, many had been there for years—much longer in fact than the Mormons—and had made few advances upon the Indians they had displaced. Mud hovels—a “truck patch”—hunting and buck-skin breeches were their highest aspirations. Letters they despised as much as they did the conveniences or comforts of life. Bold, violent, unscrupulous, and grasping—hating all who differed from, much more who excelled them in the art of living, the relation between them and the Mormons may readily be inferred by any man who has read a single chapter in the history of human strife.

The *Anti-Mormons* (for I must so distinguish this horde of demi-savages) are exceedingly intolerant. They are *refuse* Kentuckians and Tennesseans, intermixed with Virginians of the same caste, in whom the vice, sectional pride, which marks these people, and a prejudice against all others, especially those belonging to the free states, whom they indiscriminately brand as Yankees—is exaggerated to the highest pitch. Such persons, if they could do it, would incorporate in the constitution of Missouri, a provision to prohibit emigrating thither of any body, not belonging to their own “kith and kin.” They have also personal pride to an excess, which leads them, however, not to emulate a rival’s exertions, but to envy his success and hate his person. They have, however, a grasping disposition, which stimulates to acquire; but not industry and enterprise enough to lead them to acquire honestly. They prefer plunder to fair means, if they can only conceal the knowledge of their foul play; because rapine gratifies their propensities to force, indolence, and acquisition. They are bold crafty, and when inspired by revenge, energetic and persevering beyond almost any other race of men.

The worst error committed by the otherwise cunning Smith and his coadjutors, was that of transplanting his followers to such a soil. A pacific, rather timid, and thrifty people, differing as the Mormons did from the out-skirt Missourians in manners, sentiments and modes of life, just served to stimulate the worst passions of the latter, and held out the prospect of an easy prey to their cupidity and violence.

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They were sagacious enough to know that their acts should have a “show of virtue,” and they accordingly began to misrepresent the Mormons. The charges were at first general. The Mormons were a “mighty mean people.” They were “great fools”—which, in common acceptance, is about as bad as being great villains. Then they were

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\* The writer though just in other remarks, falls into the common error of crying imposition, without showing wherein the deception consists.



thievish (how ridiculous when the Anti-Mormons had hardly anything worth stealing!) They "tampered with the negroes," which we know, in all slave states excites the most intense odium against the accused, without, in the nature of things, a possibility of repelling the accusation, for a slave's evidence is worthless. Finally, a fellow burnt his own corn crib and charged it on the Mormons. Bad men hate those whom they have injured. There is, therefore, plenty of reason why the Anti-Mormons should have hated their rivals. Crimination provokes recrimination; hate begets hate. Dissentions and quarrels sprung up between the parties; till, finally, it was evident that they could not live in contact; and that the Anti-Mormons were determined the Mormons should yield and abandon the country. Moreover the *land sales* were approaching, and it was expedient that they should be driven out before they could establish their *rights to pre-emption*. In this way their valuable improvements---the fruit of diligence and enterprise---would pass into the hands of men who would have the pleasure of enjoying without the toil of earning.

The massacre at Haun's Mills ought to be rung through Christendom. A body of men commanded by a *Senator* from Chariton county, went down to that mill and there fell upon their victims, precisely as the pirates of the Caribbean fell upon theirs. The poor Mormons took refuge in a blacksmith's shop, and were there murdered in detail. The attacking party leisurely and deliberately thrust their rifles between the logs of the building, and there as the Mormons were pent up like sheep in a fold, butchered them! An old man, M'Bride---said to have been a revolutionary soldier---begged for his life: it was denied him, and he was put to death with the most savage violence. A mere child---only nine years old---was chased, supplicating his pursuers, exclaiming "I am an *American* boy."\* But all would not answer.---He was hunted to his place of refuge under the large bellows of the shop and his head was blown into fragments, by means of a rifle deliberately aimed at it! It is said too, that some of the more desperate and abandoned of the profligate villains, who joined in this affray, returned the next day, and danced over the well in which their victims had been entombed! Certain it is, that they plundered those whom they had killed. And be it remembered, that this party of assailants had no authority whatever for mustering and marching; and, therefore, in the eye of the law, are mere brigands, robbers, and murderers.

You ask, if this can be true? I tell you---yes. It is true---awful, atrocious and abominable as it is, it is true. Yes, it is true---true in the nineteenth century---true in republican, in Christian America; true, while your good people of Boston---a part of the same people that committed these horrors, are sending the gospel of truth and love to far away India and the isles of the ocean.

And how do you think the great Senator civilian, who led this onslaught, justifies it? "Why," says he, 'we were in a state of war! It was *open war*! Which party fired first, I don't know. It did not matter. We came to fight; we had a fight; and they got whipped.' Yes, indeed they got whipped. Thirty Mormons killed outright or dead of their wounds, and not a hair of a head touched on the other side. A fair fight! Very likely! Men pent up in a blacksmith's shop and butchered like cattle! An old grey haired man hacked up and shot through! A child chased and his brains blown out! A fair fight! What ideas of regular war and legitimate battle---or rather what notion of right, justice, or humanity must possess the head of a *Senator* (!) who can justify his acts as this one does! It is really a pity that the Mormons did not make a fight of it. If they had done so, this Senator might not now have been living to proclaim his own disgrace, with his own lips, to all the intelligence and humanity of Christendom.

From first to last---but especially in the outset of the troubles---the Governor of the state was guilty of the most unpardonable remissness and partiality. He was formerly of Jackson county, and came into office with strong prejudices against the Mormons. At the time of the difficulty in Carrol, the Mormons sent and besought his interposition. He refused it, on the pretext of expense: but in a few weeks afterwards, ordered out against the Mormons, an army large enough to have prostrated ten times the force, supposed to be arrayed against it.

The conduct, too, of Gen. Lucas, who commanded at the (so called) surrender at Far West, was to the last degree absurd and tyrannical. Regarding the Mormons---not as American citizens---but as prisoners of war, belonging to a strange and beligerent people, he imposed upon them a "*treaty*," by which they bound themselves, through a committee to indemnify (the innocent for the guilty) the sufferers in Davies, and to quit

\* The infernal intolerance of the Anti-Mormons would not allow the Mormons' claim to be AMERICAN citizens. And this boy was, in fact, NOT a Mormon.

the state. Such stipulations, so flagrantly at war with the law of the land and with common right---did this notable general officer, in the execution of his high and delicate trust, think fit to exact of his Mormon prisoners, supposing as he doubtless did, that the Mormons were bound by it!

But worse---still more absurd and barbarous than all this, was one transaction which happened immediately on the surrender. Will you believe it, that, on that event, General Lucas called a council, composed of some *sixteen general officers*, which, by a large majority, decided to try, on the next day, 40 or 50 of those Mormons whom they considered ringleaders, by a Court Martial, the end of which no doubt would have been death to all the accused! It was then that Gen. Doniphan, of Clay county---a man respected for his legal attainments and high character, addressed Gen. Lucas in the most indignant language. "Sir," said he, "to-morrow at day light, I march all my command back to Clay. I will not stay here to witness your cold-bloody butchery." Gen. Lucas was not, however, then averted from his purpose; but the stand taken by Gen. Doniphan, disconcerted both him and the rest of these *general officers*, all of whom placed great reliance on Gen. Doniphan's judgement, and secretly (as well they might) distrusted their own. At midnight, Gen. Lucas went to Gen. Doniphan and begged him to stay. That he wished all things properly conducted and therefore he intended to name General D. as President of the Court. Gen. Doniphan instantaneously sprung to his feet, and exclaimed:---"This very inducement which you hold out, is the reason why I will march two hours earlier than I intended. I wash my hands of this Court. It is murder in cold blood. I will have nothing to do with it." Suffice it to say, that Gen. Doniphan's noble stand prevented the execution of this monstrous purpose. The Court Martial was not held.

By the villainies of their enemies and their own imprudence, (for just retaliation was in their case imprudence) the Mormons were prostrated. Some sought safety in flight.---Some turned what property they had left into the means of removal. Others were too poor to go, and were compelled to stay and suffer.

All suffered, and all lost. But the *pre-emptors* suffered most. They were stripped of the fruits of their hard toils; for not one of them *dared*, at the appointed time, present himself, to make good his rights. The earnings of years were thus in one moment wrested from them by violence and fraud. The American citizen is not protected by American laws; but he is driven out from his lands and his home, by men, whom the law cannot or will not reach, and whom the legislature of the state justify and applaud.

The General Assembly of Missouri refused investigation of the origin and history of this unexampled *persecution*. They knew better than to do it. Impartial investigation would have implicated the state and many of its legislators too deeply. It was a series of enormities that would not bear the light; and they, therefore---so far as they could do it---have quenched it in darkness.

But still there remained the sordid disposition for *pay*. The *general officers* called out in such extraordinary numbers, had a claim upon the treasury. With many of them it was a sheer speculation. Though in many cases they went unattended to the field, they filed ludicrous accounts for extra servants, horses, &c., claiming full brigadier and major general's pay, as if in the actual service of the United States. The demands, it is true, were regular; but showed a very unpatriotic desire to make money out of the state. The Legislature finally, without inquiry, voted 200,000 dollars, but provided that the pirates should be paid first. Even 200,000 dollars will not meet the regular demands---thanks to Governor Boggs' prudence and discretion in calling out this host---and these celebrated generals and generalissimos will be knocking at the door of the next General Assembly for *pay*; reminding one of Patrick Henry's speech in Hook's case, where the plaintiff was supposed to be patrolling the patriot camp with cries of "Beef!" "Beef!" I sincerely hope they will in vain cry "Pay!" "Pay!" until they are willing to confine their demands within bounds.

And now do not suppose---let no man north of the Potomac suppose---that the faith and fanaticism of the Mormons had any influence upon mentioning, in exciting this persecution.

No---it was the cause I have already intimated, to which this affair may be rightly traced. And let me assure you that any body of men like the Mormons, in all other respects, *but in their religion*, would in the same situation have shared their fate. I wish you to understand it as my deliberate opinion, that, at this moment, any body of people, accustomed only to the manners and sentiments of the free states, and rather pacific and yielding in their dispositions, however in numbers, deeply and intelligently---



would, if they attempted a settlement on choice lands in Missouri fare as have the Mormons.

Why conceal the truth? Let me tell you that a body of farmers and mechanics from Essex, Middlesex or Norfolk—however they might differ in points of faith—if they should now be transplanted to the abandoned localities of the Mormons—would in five years from the date be driven out by fire and sword precisely as the Mormons have, and the General Assembly of Missouri would justify it. Do you ask me how the Germans continue to stay in Missouri? I will tell you. They have taken the worst soils in the state—soils which nobody else will take. This is the true answer. The Germans are more disliked than the Yankees, and if they should once presume to interfere with the Kentucky prerogative to occupy the best lands—woe to the poor Germans—unless indeed they will fight harder than the Mormons.

Yes, let it be understood that there is a portion of the public domain of the United States, which is not common to people of *all* the states. The question is now settled. The *lettered* yeomanry of the free states have met the *unlettered* yeomanry of the slave states; and by the latter have been banished, scattered and despoiled.

The game tried so successfully against the Indians, has been played off against the whites. And those whites are Yankees, who cannot claim the enjoyment of a common right, in the face of certain other portions of their "fellow citizens," because they are too conscientious, or too tender, or too timid. But they must succumb like the Indians."

## CHAPTER VI.

The society now selected the county of Hancock, state of Illinois, for a settlement; and on a beautiful point of land, on the east bank of the Mississippi river, they laid out a plot of ground for a city, and called it Nauvoo, which signifies, *Beautiful for situation*. They also settled large quantities of land; and by that untiring industry and indomitable perseverance, which has always characterized our brethren, and by the steady flowing in of the tide of emigration to that place, (for many of our elders were successfully preaching in all parts of the states, and in Great Britain,) the church had in a measure recovered from their calamities, and were prospering beyond all precedent. Nauvoo had, in 1844, become a fine city of twelve thousand inhabitants, and our settlements had extended over most parts of Hancock county, and in many parts of the counties adjoining, on both sides of the Mississippi, so that in Illinois and Iowa we numbered not less than twenty-five thousand members. But a spirit of persecution and mobocracy began to manifest itself soon after our settlement in Illinois, which finally resulted in one of the most cold bloody and cruel murders that history ever chronicled.

This persecution was directed, chiefly, against Joseph Smith, and a respectable monthly journal, the Times and Seasons, of July, 1843, thus speaks of it:—

It has fallen to our lot of late years to keep an account of any remarkable circumstance that might transpire, in, and about this, and the adjoining states; as well as of distant provinces and nations. Among the many robberies, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, fires, mobs, wars, &c., &c., which we have had to record, there is one circumstance of annual occurrence, which it has always fallen to our lot to chronicle. We allude not to the yearly inundations of the Nile, nor the frequent eruptions of Vesuvius or Etna, but to the boiling over of Tophet, *alias* the annual overflow of the excrement of Missouri. Not, indeed, like the Nile, overflowing its parched banks, invigorating the alluvial soil and causing vegetation to teem forth in its richest attire; but like the sulphurous flame that burns unnoticed in the bowels of a volcano; kept alive by the combustion of its own native element, until it can contain itself no longer within the limits of its crater, it bursts beyond its natural bounds; and not satisfied with burning what is within its own bowels, it rushes furiously, wildly, and wantonly forth, and spreads its sulphurous lava all around, scattering desolation in its path, destroying the cot of the husbandman, the fisherman, and the palace of the nobleman, in one general sweep; covering vegetation with its fiery lava, and turning the garden into a bed of cinders. So Missouri has her annual ebullitions, and unable to keep her fire within her own bosom, must belch forth her sulphuric lava, and seek to overwhelm others with what is burning in her own bowels and destroying her very vitals; and as it happens that we are so unfortunate as to live near the borders of this monster, we must ever and anon, be smothered with the soot that flies off from her burning crater.

Without entering here into the particulars of the bloody deeds, the high-handed oppres-



sion, the unconstitutional acts, the deadly and malicious hate, the numerous murders, and the wholesale robberies of that people; we will proceed to notice one of the late acts of Missouri, or of the Governor of that state towards Joseph Smith.

Some two years ago Mr. Smith was apprehended upon a writ issued by Gov. Carlin upon a requisition from the Gov. of Missouri, charging Mr. Smith with murder, arson, treason, &c., &c. Mr. Smith obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus, which was made returnable at Monmouth; he appeared before Judge Douglass and was honorably acquitted. We thought then that the eyes of the community would be opened, and that a stop would have for ever been put to those unhallowed proceedings, but no! this could not be, she must still pursue her victim, and for want of some more plausible excuse, after that monster of iniquity, Gov. Boggs, whose iniquitous exterminating order has rendered him notorious not only in this country, but throughout Europe, had been shot at by some unknown ruffian, and his life jeopardized; it was thought a good opportunity to commence an attack upon Joseph Smith, particularly as an election was near at hand in this state, and it was thought by some of our political demagogues that some political capital could be made of it; Joseph Smith must therefore be sacrificed at the shrine of the hellish despotism of Missouri, and that of political aspirants of this state. What was the pledge that Gov. Duncan gave the people, if they would elect him? That he would have the Mormon charters repealed, and deprive them of all their other privileges. Thus the Mormons and Joseph Smith must be at the disposal of such inhuman, reckless, blood thirsty, (we had like to have said,) republicans as these. Oh shame where is thy blush! and the attempted murder of Governor Boggs, to them is a good pretext. As if it were impossible that there should be found among the inhabitants of a state who had butchered scores in cold blood, who had robbed an innocent people of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property; and who had driven thirteen thousand people from their homes, who had never violated the laws, a man who was base enough to murder another without having the thing so far fetched as to try to heap it upon the head of a man who had not been in the state for years. This case like the other, was finally brought to an issue, and Mr. Smith after an immensity of trouble and expense was exculpated in Springfield, before Judge Pope, of the United States Court, for the District of Illinois.\* The persecution and injustice of Missouri, and the illegality of the case was then abundantly developed, and Judge Pope ordered the case to be inserted on the docket in such a manner that Mr. Smith should no more be troubled in relation to that matter.

\* This is an United States Court, and is the highest court known in any state. With reference to this trial the same Journal of January, 1843, says:—

We are happy to have it in our power to state, that the distinguished individual above named is once more free, and that the illegal prosecution and persecution which has been instituted against him by ex-Governor Boggs, Governor Reynolds of Missouri, and ex-Governor Carlin of this state, has terminated successfully in behalf of the innocent and unoffending; and we have had one striking instance of the dignity and purity of our laws being held inviolate, despite of executive influence and intrigue, and the influence of misrepresentation and bigotry.

Mr. Smith had long been convinced of the illegality of the proceedings against him; but he at the same time thought that when public excitement was so great, and popular prejudice so strong, that it would be hazardous for him to place himself in the hands of any of the minions of ex-Governor Carlin—judging (very correctly) that if that gentleman had issued a writ illegally, and unconstitutionally for his apprehension, he might use an unwarrantable, executive influence in having him delivered up to the justice (i.e., injustice) of the state of Missouri.

But while on the one hand he feared, and had reason to fear, usurped executive power; he as firmly believed that if he could obtain a fair and impartial hearing before the judiciary that there was sufficient strength, and virtue in the laws, to deliver him from the unjust influence, and mal-administration of his enemies.

Feeling fully convinced of the justice of his cause, he repaired to Springfield, about two weeks ago, for the purpose of obtaining a hearing, (and as he believed) receive an acquittal from the District Court of the United States for the district of Illinois.

The Secretary of State had been instructed to send for the writ issued by Governor Carlin, that Mr. Smith might have the privilege of the Habeas Corpus, and of having the legality and constitutionality of the writ tested.

Governor Ford at that time manifested a friendly disposition, and seemed disposed to put a stop to that executive influence which had sought the destruction and overthrow of Mr. Smith.

But as ex-Governor Carlin, or the sheriff of Adams county, or both, were either afraid of having their deeds investigated, or wished to set at defiance the law; the writ was not forthcoming; and after the great hue and cry that has been made about Joseph Smith's fleeing from justice, he was absolutely under the necessity of petitioning Gov. Ford to issue another writ before he could obtain a hearing before the court. For the purpose of answering the ends of justice, and that Mr. Smith might be legally and fairly dealt with, Governor Ford issued another writ, which was a copy of the one issued by Governor Carlin. Mr. Smith then petitioned the United States district court for a writ of Habeas Corpus, which was granted, and he appeared before that court on Saturday, the 30th of December, 1842, and gave bail for his appearance at court on Monday. Mr. Lambourn, the Attorney-General of the state of Illinois, appeared on behalf of the state, and Mr. Butterfield was counsel for Mr. Smith.

On Monday Mr. Lambourn requested of the court a little time, stating that the subject was new to him, that it was one of great importance, that he had not had an opportunity of investigating it, and he hoped that the court would indulge him with one or two days: the court granted him that privilege, and the trial was postponed until Wednesday, the 4th of January. Mr. Lambourn objected to the proceedings, on the ground that the United States Court had no jurisdiction in this case, and that it belonged to the courts of this state to adjudicate in this matter; he moreover contended that they could not go behind the writ to the guilt, or innocence of the accused party; his objections however were overruled by the court.

Messrs. Edwards and Butterfield showed in a very lucid manner that Mr. Lambourn was in the dark concerning this matter—and Mr. Butterfield contended that in this case, and under the circumstances of the issuing of this writ, the United States district court not only had jurisdiction; but that it had exclusive jurisdiction. He also showed very clearly, that although they had no right to go behind the writ when judgment was rendered, that they had a perfect right where that was not the case. He quoted several authorities in defence of the position that he took, and very clearly showed that the course which he had taken in this affair, was strongly supported by law, that he was sustained by the constitution of the United States, and by a law of Congress based upon the constitution, and by all former precedents. He then exposed in a very able manner, the corruption of Governor Reynolds of Missouri, and of Governor Carlin of Illinois, in relation to this matter, proving from their own documents that the steps which they had taken were illegal, that Governor Reynolds had no foundation to issue a writ, or to demand Joseph Smith from Governor Carlin, on any thing that there was in the affidavit of ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri, and that he was obliged to add certain clauses in his demand which were not found in the body of the affidavit, before his claims upon this state could have the semblance of law, and that Governor Carlin with these lame documents before him wished to make it a little more plain, and added another addition, by way of codicil to the charge. He clearly shewed the progress of crime among those governors. Ex-Governor Boggs' affidavit stated that "he believed, and had good reason to believe that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and that he was a resident of Illinois." Governor Reynolds stated that *it had been represented* to him that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and had fled from the justice of Missouri; and to make up the thing complete, Governor Carlin stated that he was a *fugitive from justice*, consequently neither Governor Reynolds nor Governor Carlin had any foundation whereon to base the issuing of a demand, proclamation, or writ.

After showing very clearly, the ignorance and injustice of those executives, proving to a demonstration that Joseph Smith had not been in Missouri for three years; that he could not be a fugitive from justice, and that if he were guilty of being an accessory the thing was not done in Missouri, and he could not be taken there to be tried; he concluded by saying, that all the difference there was between the Mormons and other professions was, that the different sects believed in the ancient prophets only, and the Mormons believed in both ancient and modern prophecy. Another distinction

Mr. Smith returned in peace to the bosom of his family, and was received with joyous acclamation by a numerous host of friends, who felt to rejoice that innocence had triumphed over persecution, fanaticism, and despotism.

## CHAPTER VII.

Feeling perfectly secure, he set off with his family to Mr. Wasson's to visit his wife's sister, Mrs. Wasson, and family, who resided about twelve miles from Dixon, Lee county, in this state. While he was there, a Mr. J. H. Reynolds, Sheriff of Jackson county Missouri, (so he says) and Mr. Harman Wilson of Carthage, arrived at Dixon, professing to be Mormon preachers; from whence they proceeded to Mr. Wasson's at whose house Mr. Smith was staying. They found Mr. Smith outside of the door, and accosted him in a very uncouth, ungentlemanly manner, quite in keeping however, with the common practice of Missourians. The following is as near the conversation as we can gather. Reynolds and his coadjutor Wilson, both stepped up at a time to Mr. Smith with their pistols cocked, and without showing any writ or serving any process, Mr. Reynolds with his pistol cocked at Mr. Smith's breast, cried out, "G—d d—n you if you stir I'll shoot—G—d d—n you if you stir one inch I'll shoot you, G—d d—n you—be still or I'll shoot you by G—d." "What is the meaning of this?" interrogated Mr. Smith. "I'll show you the meaning by G—d, and if you stir one inch I'll shoot you, G—d d—n you." "I am not afraid of your shooting," answered Mr. Smith, "I am not afraid to die." He then bared his breast, and said "Shoot away, I have endured so much oppression I am weary of life, and kill me if you please. I am a strong man, however, and with my own natural weapons could soon level both of you; but if you have any legal process to serve, I am at all times subject to law, and shall not offer resistance." "G—d d—n you if you say another word we'll shoot you, by G—d." "Shoot away," answered Mr. Smith, "I am not afraid of your pistols." They then hurried him off to a carriage that they had, and without serving process, were for hurrying him off without letting him see, or bid farewell to his family or friends. Mr. Smith then said, "gentlemen, if you have any legal process I wish to obtain a writ of habeas corpus," and was answered, "G—d d—n you, you shan't have one." Mr. Smith saw a friend of his passing, and said "These men are kidnapping me, and I wish a writ of habeas corpus to deliver myself out of their hands." This friend immediately proceeded to Dixon, whence the Sheriff also proceeded at full speed. On arriving at the house of Mr. McKennie, tavern keeper, Mr. Smith was thrust into a room and guarded there without being allowed to see anybody, and horses were ordered in five minutes. Mr. Smith then stated to Reynolds—"I wish to get counsel," and was answered, "G—d d—n you, you shan't have counsel, one word more, G—d d—n, and I'll shoot you." "What is the use of this so often?" said Mr. Smith, "I have often told you to shoot, and now I tell you again to shoot away;" and seeing a person passing, he said, "I am forcibly imprisoned here, and I want a lawyer." A lawyer came, and had the door banged in his face with the old threat of shooting if he came any nearer, another afterwards came and received the same treatment. Many of the citizens of Dixon by this time being apprised of his

was, that the ancient prophets prophesied in poetry, and the modern ones in prose.

Judge Pope then stated that the court would give its decision the next morning.

On Wednesday morning the Judge in his decision investigated the whole matter, and in a very able manner sustained the views of Mr. Butterfield, and adduced additional testimony and evidence in favor of the acquittal of Mr. Smith; and after a very learned and able address he concluded by saying, that "The decision of the court is that the prisoner be discharged; and I wish it entered upon the records in such a way, that Mr. Smith be no more troubled about this matter."



situation, stepped forward, and gave the Sheriff to understand, that if that was their mode of doing business in Missouri, they had another way of doing it here: that they were a law-abiding people, and republicans, that Mr. Smith should have justice done him, and have the opportunity of a fair trial, but that if they persisted in their course, they had a very summary way of dealing with such people—and gave them to understand that Mr. Smith should not go without a fair and impartial trial. Mr. Reynolds finding further resistance to be useless, allowed one or two attorneys to come to Mr. Smith, who gave them to understand that he had been taken up without process; that they had insulted and abused him, and he wanted a writ of habeas corpus. Up to this time they had altogether refused to allow the counsel to have private conversation with him.

A writ was sued out by Mr. Smith against Harman Wilson for a violation of the law in relation to writs of habeas corpus, the said violation consisting in said Wilson having transferred said Smith to the custody of Reynolds for the purpose of removing Mr. Smith to Missouri, and thereby avoiding the effect and operation of said writ contrary to law.

There was also another writ sued out from the circuit court of Lee county, in favor of Mr. Smith, against Reynolds and Wilson, for private damage, for false imprisonment, upon the ground that the writ issued by the Governor of Illinois, was a void writ in law: upon which said writ, said Reynolds and Wilson were held to bail; and were in the custody of the sheriff of Lee county. Reynolds and Wilson obtained a writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of being discharged before Judge Young, of Quincy, but they did not go before Judge Young, but gave bail at Carthage for their appearance at the circuit court at Lee county in said action.

Mr. Smith obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the Master in Chancery of Lee county, returnable before the Hon. John D. Caton, Judge of the ninth judicial circuit, at Ottawa, as far as Pawpaw Grove, at which last mentioned place it was ascertained that Judge Caton was on a visit to New York. Upon which the party, Messrs. Smith, Reynolds, Wilson and others in company returned to Dixon, where another writ was issued by the said Master in Chancery, in favor of Smith; returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial circuit, authorised to hear, and determine, writs of habeas corpus. It was ascertained that the nearest tribunal authorised to hear and determine upon writs of habeas corpus, was at Nauvoo. On their arrival at Nauvoo, a writ of habeas corpus was sued out before, and made returnable to the Municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, directed to Mr. Reynolds, upon which said writ Mr. Reynolds did produce the body of said Smith before such court, objecting, however, to the jurisdiction of said court. It was ascertained by the counsel for said Smith, that the Municipal court had full and ample power to hear and determine upon writs of habeas corpus. Upon examination before said court he was discharged from such arrest upon the merit of said case, and upon the further ground of substantial defects in said writ so issued by the Gov. of the state of Illinois.

Why Governor Ford should lend his assistance in a vexatious prosecution of this kind we are at a loss to determine. He possesses a discretionary power in such cases, and has a right to use his judgment, as the chief magistrate of this state; and knowing, as he does, that the whole proceedings, connected with this affair, are illegal; we think that in justice he ought to have leaned to the side of the oppressed and innocent, particularly when the persecuted and prosecuted were citizens of his own state, who had a right to his sympathies and to be shielded by his paternal care, as the father of this state. Does not his Excellency know? and do not all the citizens of the state know that the Mormons have been robbed, and pillaged, and plundered in that state without any redress? that the Mormons en-masse were exterminated from that state without any legal pretext whatever? and how then could they have any legal claim upon Joseph Smith or any Mormon? Have the Mormons ever received any redress for injuries done in Missouri? No! Is there any prospect of their receiving remuneration for their loss, or redress for their grievance? No! When a demand was made upon the Governor of Missouri, by Governor Carlin of this state for the persons who had kidnapped several Mormons, were they given up by that state? No. Why then should our Executive feel so tenacious in fulfilling all the nice punctillios of law, when the very state that is making these demands, has robbed, murdered, and exterminated by wholesale without law, and are merely making use of it at present as a cats-paw to destroy the innocent, and murder those that they have already persecuted nearly to the death? It is

impossible that the state of Missouri should do justice with her coffers, groaning with the spoils of the oppressed, and her hands yet reeking with the blood of the innocent. Shall she yet gorge her bloody maw with other victims? Shall Joseph Smith be given into her hands illegally? *Never! NO NEVER!! NO NEVER!!!*

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## CHAPTER VIII.

At this trial before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, among other witnesses who were examined was Hyrum Smith, whose testimony we give *en extenso*: it is a plain unvarnished tale, and reads thus:—

HYRUM SMITH sworn. Said that the defendant now in court is his brother, and that his name is not Joseph Smith junior, but his name is Joseph Smith, senior, and has been for more than two years past. I have been acquainted with him ever since he was born, which was thirty-seven years in December last, and I have not been absent from him at any one time, not even the space of six months since his birth, to my recollection, and have been intimately acquainted with all his sayings, doings, business transactions and movements, as much as any one man could be acquainted with another man's business, up to the present time, and do know that he has not committed treason against any state in the Union, by any overt act, or by levying war, or by aiding and abetting, or assisting an enemy in any state in the Union, and that the said Joseph Smith, senior, has not committed treason against the state of Missouri, nor violated any law or rule of said state, I being personally acquainted with the transactions of the said Smith whilst he resided in said state, which was for about six months in the year, 1838; I being also a resident in said state during the said period of time, and I do know the said Joseph Smith, senior, never was subject to military duty in any state, neither was he in the state of Missouri, he being exempt by the amputation or extraction of a bone from his leg, and by his having a license to preach the Gospel, or being in other words a minister of the Gospel, and I do know that said Smith never bore arms, as a military man, in any capacity whatever, whilst in the state of Missouri, or previous to that time; neither has he given any orders or any command in any capacity whatever: but I do know that whilst he was in the state of Missouri, that the people commonly called Mormons, were threatened with violence and extermination, and on or about the first Monday in August, 1838, at the election at Gallatin, the county seat in Davies county, the citizens who were commonly called Mormons were forbidden to exercise the rights of franchise, and from that unhallowed circumstance an affray commenced, and a fight ensued among the citizens of that place, and from that time a mob commenced gathering in that county threatening the extermination of the Mormons. The said Smith and myself upon hearing that mobs were collecting together, and that they had also murdered two of the citizens of the same place, and would not suffer them to be buried; the said Smith and myself went over to Davies county to learn the particulars of the affray, but upon our arrival at Diahman, we learned that none were killed but several were wounded. On mounting our horses to return, we rode up to Mr. Black's, who was then an acting Justice of the Peace, to obtain some water for ourselves and horses. Some few of the citizens accompanied us there, and after obtaining the refreshment of water, Mr. Black was asked by the said Joseph Smith, senior, if he would use his influence to see that the laws were faithfully executed and to put down mob violence? and he gave us a paper, written by his own hand, stating that he would do so. He also requested him to call together the most influential men of the county on the next day that we might have an interview with them; to this he acquiesced, and accordingly the next day they assembled at the house of Colonel Wight, and entered into a mutual covenant of peace, to put down mob violence and to protect each other in the enjoyment of their rights. After this we all parted with the best of feelings and each man returned to his own home. This mutual agreement of peace however did not last long; for but a few days afterwards the mob began to collect again, until several hundreds rendezvoused at Millport, a few miles distant from Diahman. They immediately commenced making aggressions upon the citizens called Mormons, taking

away their hogs and cattle, and threatening them with extermination or utter extinction ; saying that they had a cannon, and there should be no compromise only at its mouth : frequently taking men, women, and children prisoners, whipping them and *lacerating their bodies with hickory withes, and tying them to trees and depriving them of food until they were compelled to gnaw the bark from the trees to which they were bound, in order to sustain life* ; treating them in the most cruel manner they could invent or think of, and doing everything they could to excite the indignation of the Mormon people to rescue them, in order that they might make that a pretext of an accusation for the breach of the law, and that they might the better excite the prejudices of the populace and thereby get aid and assistance to carry out their hellish purposes of extermination. Immediately on the authentication of these facts, messengers were despatched from Far West to Austin A. King, Judge of the fifth judicial district of the state of Missouri, and also to Major-General Atchison, Commander-in-Chief of that division, and Brigadier-General Doniphan, giving them information of the existing facts, and demanding immediate assistance. General Atchison returned with the messengers and went immediately to Diahman, and from thence to Millport, and he found the facts were true as reported to him ; that the citizens of that county were assembled together in a hostile attitude to the amount of two or three hundred men, threatening the utter extermination of the Mormons : he immediately returned to Clay county and ordered out a sufficient military force to quell the mob. Immediately after they were dispersed and the army returned, the mob collected again soon after ; we again applied for military aid, when General Doniphan came out with a force of sixty armed men to Far West ; but they were in such a state of insubordination that he said he could not control them, and it was thought advisable by Colonel Hinkle, Mr. Rigdon, and others that they should return home ; General Doniphan ordered Colonel Hinkle to call out the militia of Caldwell and defend the town against the mob, for, said he, " You have great reason to be alarmed, for Neil Gillum, from the Platte country, had come down with 200 armed men and had taken up their station at Hunter's mill," a place distant about seventeen or eighteen mile north west of the town of Far West, where about seventy families of the Mormon people had settled upon the bank of the Missouri river at a little town called De Witt. A messenger, whilst he was yet talking, came in from De Witt, stating that three or four hundred men had assembled together at that place armed cap-a-pie, and that they threatened the utter extinction of the citizens of that place if they did not leave the place immediately, and they had also surrounded the town and cut off all supplies of food, so that many of them were suffering with hunger. General Doniphan seemed to be much alarmed, and appeared to be willing to do all he could to assist, and to relieve the sufferings of the Mormon people ; he advised that a petition be immediately got up and sent to the Governor. A petition was accordingly prepared and a messenger despatched to the Governor, and another petition was sent to Judge King. The Mormon people throughout the country were in a great state of alarm, and also in distress : they saw themselves completely surrounded with armed forces on the north and on the north west, and on the south ; and also Bogart, who was a Methodist preacher, and who was then a volunteer capt. over a militia company of fifty soldiers, but who had added to his number out of the surrounding counties about one hundred more, which made his force about 150 strong, was stationed at Crooked Creek, sending out his scouting parties, taking men, women, and children prisoners—driving off cattle, horses, and hogs—entering into every house on Log and Long Creeks, rifling their houses of their most precious articles, such as money, bedding, and clothing—taking all their old muskets or their rifles or military implements—threatening the people with instant death if they did not deliver up all their precious things, and enter into a covenant to leave the state or go to the city of Far West by the next morning, saying that "*They calculated to drive the people into Far West, and then drive them into hell.*" Gillum was also doing the same on the north west side of Far West ; and Serciel Woods, a Presbyterian minister, was the volunteer leader of the mob in Davics county ; and a very noted man, (the Reverend Abbott Hancock) of the same society, was the leader of the mob in Carroll county ; and they were also sending out their scouting parties, robbing and pillaging houses, driving away hogs, horses, and cattle—taking men, women, and children and driving them off, threatening their lives, and subjecting them to all manner of abuses that they could invent or think of.

Under this state of alarm, excitement, and distress, the messengers returned from the



Governor and from the authorities, bringing the fatal news, that "The Mormons had got into a difficulty with the citizens, and they might fight it out for all that he cared : he could not render them any assistance ! ! !"

The people of De Witt were obliged to leave their homes and go into Far West ; but did not until after many of their friends had *starved to death* for want of proper sustenance, and several died on the road there, and were buried by the way side, without a coffin or a funeral ceremony, and the distress, sufferings, and privations of the people cannot be expressed ! All the scattered families of the Mormon people, in all the counties except Davies, were driven into Far West, with but few exceptions.

This only increased their distress ; for many thousands who were driven there, had no habitation or houses to shelter them, and were huddled together, some in tents others under blankets, while others had no shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Nearly two months the people had been in this awful state of consternation : many had been killed, whilst others had been *whipped until they had to swathe up their bowels to prevent them from falling out*. About this time, General Parks came from Richmond, Ray county. He was one of the commissioned officers that was sent to Diahman, and I and my brother Joseph Smith, senior, went there at the same time. On the evening that General Parks arrived at Diahman, Don Carlos Smith's wife came into Colonel Wight's about eleven o'clock at night, bringing her two children along with her, one about two and a half years old, the other a babe in arms. She came on foot, a distance of three miles, and waded Grand River : the water was then about waist deep, and the snow about three inches deep. She stated that a party of the mob, a gang of ruffians, had turned her out of doors, had taken her household goods and had burned up her house, and she had barely escaped with her life. Her husband at that time was in Virginia, preaching, and she was living alone. This cruel transaction excited the feelings of the people in Diahman, especially Colonel Wight, and he asked General Parks in my hearing, *How long we had got to suffer such base violence?* Gen. Parks said "He did not know how long." Col. Wight then asked him what should be done? Gen. Parks told him "He should take a company of men, well armed, and go and disperse the mob, wherever he should find any collected together, and take away their arms." Col. Wight did so precisely, according to the orders of Gen. Parks. And my brother Joseph Smith Sen. made no words about it.—And after Col. Wight had dispersed the mob, and put a stop to their burning houses belonging to the Mormon people, and turning women and children out of doors, which they had done up to that time to the amount of 8 or 10 houses which were consumed to ashes—after being cut short in their intended designs, the mob started up a new plan. They moved their families out of the county and set fire to their houses, and not being able to incense the Mormons to commit crimes ; they had recourse to this stratagem to set their houses on fire, and sent runners into all the counties adjacent, to declare to the people that the Mormons had burned up their houses and destroyed their fields, and if the people would not believe them, they told them to go and see if what they had said was not true. Many people came to see. They saw the houses burning, and being filled with prejudice, they could not be made to believe but the Mormons set them on fire, which deed was most diabolical and of the blackest kind, for indeed the Mormons did not set them on fire, nor meddle with their houses or their fields. And the houses that were burnt, together with the pre-emption rights, and the corn in the fields, had all been previously purchased by the Mormons of the people, and paid for in money, and with waggons and horses, and with other property, about two weeks before ; but they had not taken possession of the premises ; but this wicked transaction was for the purpose of clandestinely exciting the minds of a prejudiced populace and the Executive, that they might get an order, that they could the more easily carry out their hellish purposes, in expulsion, or extermination, or utter extinction of the Mormon people. After witnessing the distressed situation of the people in Diahman, my brother Joseph Smith, senior, and myself returned to the city of Far West, and immediately despatched a messenger with written documents to General Atchison, stating the facts as they did then exist, praying for assistance if possible, and requesting the editor of the "Far West" to insert the same in his newspaper, but he utterly refused to do so. We still hoped to get assistance from the Governor, and again petitioned him, praying for assistance, setting forth our distressed situation : and in the mean time the presiding Judge of the County Court issued orders, upon affidavits made to him by the citizens, to the Sheriff of the county, to order out the Militia of the county to stand in constant readi-

ness, night and day, to prevent the citizens from being massacred, which fearful situation they were exposed to every moment. Everything was portentous and alarming. Notwithstanding all this, there was a ray of hope yet existing in the minds of the people that the Governor would render us assistance; and whilst the people were waiting anxiously for deliverance—men, women, and children frightened, praying and weeping—we beheld at a distance, crossing the prairies and approaching the town, a large army in military array, brandishing their swords in the sunshine, and we could not but feel joyful for a moment, thinking that probably the Governor had sent an armed force to our relief, notwithstanding the awful forebodings that pervaded our breasts. But to our great surprise, when the army arrived and formed a line in double file in one half mile on the east of the city of Far West, and despatched three messengers with a white flag to come to the city. They were met by Captain Morey with a few other individuals, whose names I do not now recollect. I was myself standing alone by, and could very distinctly hear every word they said. Being filled with anxiety, I rushed forward to the spot, hoping to hear good news—but alas! and heart-thrilling to every soul that heard them—they demanded three persons to be brought out of the city before they should *massacre* the rest! The names of the persons they demanded, were Adam Lightner, John Cleminson, and his wife. Immediately the three persons were brought forth to hold an interview with the officers who had made the demand, and the officers told them they had now a chance to save their lives, for they calculated to destroy the people and lay the city in ashes. They replied to the officers and said, *"If the people must be destroyed, and the city burned to ashes, we will remain in the city and die with them."* The officers immediately returned, and the army retreated and encamped about a mile and a half from the city. A messenger was immediately despatched with a white flag from the Colonel of Militia of Far West, requesting an interview with General Atchison and General Doniphan; but as the messenger approached the camp, he was shot at by Bogart, the Methodist preacher. The name of the messenger was Charles C. Rich, who is now Brigadier-General in the Nauvoo Legion. However, he gained permission to see General Doniphan; he also requested an interview with General Atchison. General Doniphan said "That General Atchison had been dismounted by a special order of the Governor a few miles back, and had been sent back to Liberty, Clay county." He also stated that the reason was, that he (Atchison,) was too merciful unto the Mormons, and Boggs would not let him have the command, but had given it to General Lucas, who was from Jackson county, and whose heart had become hardened by his former acts of rapine and bloodshed, he being one of the leaders in murdering, driving, plundering, and burning some two or three hundred houses belonging to the Mormon people in that county, in the years 1833 and 1834.

Mr. Rich requested General Doniphan to spare the people, and not suffer them to be massacred until the next morning, it then being evening. He coolly agreed that he would not, and also said that "He had not as yet received the Governor's order, but expected it every hour, and should not make any further move until he had received it; but he would not make any promises so far as regarded Neil Gillum's army," he having arrived a few minutes previously, and joined the main body of the army; he knowing well at what hour to form a junction with the main body. Mr. Rich then returned to the city, giving this information. The Colonel immediately despatched a second messenger with a white flag, to request another interview with General Doniphan, in order to touch his sympathy and compassion, and if it were possible, for him to use his best endeavors to preserve the lives of the people. On the return of this messenger, we learned that several persons had been killed by some of the soldiers who were under the command of General Lucas. One Mr. Carey had his *brains knocked out* by the brith of a gun, and he lay bleeding several hours, but his family were not permitted to approach him, nor any one else allowed to administer relief to him whilst he lay upon the ground in the agonies of death. Mr. Carey had just arrived in the country, from the state of Ohio, only a few hours previous to the arrival of the army. He had a family consisting of a wife and several small children. He was buried by Lucius N. Scovil, who is now the senior warden of the Nauvoo Lodge. Another man at the same time had his skull laid bare the width of a man's hand, and he lay, to all appearance, in the agonies of death for several hours; but, by the permission of General Doniphan, his friends brought him out of the camp, and with good nursing he slowly recovered, and is now living. There was another man, whose name is Powell, who was beat on the

head with the britch of a gun until his skull was fractured and his brains run out in two or three places. He is now alive, and resides in this county, but has lost the use of his senses. Several persons of his family were also left for dead, but have since recovered. These acts of barbarity were also committed by the soldiers under the command of General Lucas, previous to having received the Governor's order of extermination.

## CHAPTER IX.

It was on the evening of the 30th of October, according to the best of my recollection, that the army arrived at Far West, the sun about half an hour high. In a few moments afterwards, Cornelius Gillum arrived with his army, and formed a junction. This Gillum had been stationed at Hunter's mills for about two months previous to that time—committing depredations upon the inhabitants—capturing men, women, and children, and carrying them off as prisoners, lacerating their bodies with hickory withes. The army of Gillum were painted like Indians, some of them were more conspicuous than were others, designated by red spots, and he, also, was painted in a similar manner, with red spots marked on his face, and styled himself the "Delaware Chief." They would whoop and halloo and yell as nearly like Indians as they could, and continued to do so all that night. In the morning early, the Colonel of Militia sent a messenger into the camp with a white flag, to have another interview with General Doniphan. On his return, he informed us that the Governor's order had arrived. General Doniphan said that "the order of the Governor was, to exterminate the Mormons by G—d, but he would be d—d if he obeyed that order, but General Lucas might do what he pleased." We immediately learned from General Doniphan that "the Governor's order that had arrived was only a copy of the original, and that the original order was in the hands of Major-General Clark, who was on his way to Far West, with an additional army of six thousand men." Immediately after this, there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mill, bringing the intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two or three hundred detached from the main body of the army, under the superior command of Colonel Ashley, but under the immediate command of Captain Nehemiah Compstock, who the day previous had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order "to exterminate or to expel" from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day and surprised and massacred the whole population of the town, and then came on to the town of Far West and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us that he himself with a few others fled into the thickets, which preserved them from the massacre: and on the following morning they returned and collected the dead bodies of the people and cast them into a well; and there were upwards of twenty who were dead or mortally wounded. There are several of the wounded who are now living in this city. One, of the name of Yocum, has lately had his leg amputated, in consequence of wounds he then received. He had a ball shot through his head, which entered near his eye and came out at the back part of his head, and another ball passed through one of his arms.

The army, during all the while they had been encamped in Far West, continued to lay waste fields of corn, making hogs, sheep, and cattle common plunder, and shooting them down for sport. One man shot a cow and took a strip of her skin, the width of his hand, from her head to her tail, and tied it round a tree to slip his halter into, to tie his horse to. The city was surrounded with a strong guard, and no man, woman, or child was permitted to go out or come in, under the penalty of death. *Many of the citizens were shot, in attempting to go out to obtain sustenance for themselves and families!* There was one field fenced in, consisting of twelve hundred acres, mostly covered with corn, which was entirely laid waste by the horses of the army. The next day after the arrival of the army, towards evening, Colonel Hinkle came up from the camp, requesting to see my brother Joseph, Parley, P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and



George W. Robinson, stating that the officers of the army wanted a mutual consultation with those men; also stating that Generals Doniphan, Lucas, Wilson, and Graham—(however, General Graham is an honorable exception: he did all he could to preserve the lives of the people, contrary to the order of the Governor,)—he, Hinkle, assured them that these generals had pledged their sacred honor that they should not be abused or insulted, but should be guarded back in safety in the morning, or so soon as the consultation was over. My brother Joseph replied That he did not know what good he could do in any consultation, as he was only a private individual: however, he said that he was always willing to do all the good he could, and would obey every law of the land, and then leave the event with God. They immediately started with Colonel Hinkle to go down into the camp. As they were going down about half way to the camp, they met General Lucas with a phalanx of men, with a wing to the right and to the left, and a four-pounder in the centre. They supposed he was coming with this strong force to guard them into the camp in safety; but to their surprise, when they came up to General Lucas, he ordered his men to surround them, and Hinkle stepped up to the General and said, "These are the prisoners I agreed to deliver up." General Lucas drew his sword and said "Gentlemen, you are my prisoners," and about that time the main army were on the march to meet them. They came up in two divisions, and opened to the right and left, and my brother and his friends were marched down through their lines, with a strong guard in front, and the cannon in the rear, to the camp, amidst the whoopings, hallooings, yellings, and shoutings of the army, which were so horrid and terrific that it frightened the inhabitants of the city. It is impossible to describe the feelings of horror and distress of the people. After being thus betrayed, they were placed under a strong guard of thirty men, armed cap-a-pie, which was relieved every two hours. There they were compelled to lay on the cold ground that night, and were told in plain language, that they need never expect their liberties again. So far for their honors pledged. However, this was as much as could be expected from a mob under the garb of military and executive authority in the state of Missouri. On the next day, the soldiers were permitted to patrol the streets, to abuse and insult the people at their leisure, and enter into houses and pillage them, *and ravish the women*, taking away every gun and every other kind of arms or military implements; and about twelve o'clock on that day Colonel Hinkle, came to my house with an armed force, and delivered me up as a prisoner unto that force. They surrounded me and commanded me to march into the camp. I told them that I could not go: my family were sick, and I was sick myself, and could not leave home. They said they did not care for that—I must and should go. I asked when they would permit me to return. They made no answer, but forced me along with the point of the bayonet into the camp, and put me under the same guard with my brother Joseph—and within about half an hour afterwards, Amasa Lyman was also brought and placed under the same guard. There we were compelled to stay all that night, and lie on the ground. Along some time in the same night, Colonel Hinkle came to me and told me he had been pleading my case before the Court Martial, but he was afraid he should not succeed. He said there was a Court Martial then in session, consisting of thirteen or fourteen officers, Circuit Judge A. A. King, and Mr. Birch, District Attorney; also Serciel Woods, Presbyterian priest, and about twenty other priests of the different religious denominations in that country. He said they were determined to shoot us on the next morning, in the public square in Far West. I made him no reply. On the next morning about sunrise, General Doniphan ordered his brigade to take up the line of march and leave the camp. He came to us where we were under guard, to shake hands with us, and bid us farewell. His first salutation was, "By G--d you have been sentenced by the court martial to be shot this morning; but I will be d---d if I will have any of the honor of it, or any of the disgrace of it; therefore I have ordered my brigade to take up the line of march and to leave the camp, for I consider it to be cold-blooded murder, and I bid you farewell," and he went away. This movement of Gen. Doniphan made considerable excitement in the army, and there was considerable whispering amongst the officers. We listened very attentively and frequently heard it mentioned by the guard, that the d---d Mormons would not be shot this time. In a few moments the guard was relieved with a new set; one of these new guard said That the d---d Mormons would not be shot this time, for the movement of General Doniphan had frustrated the whole plan, and that the officers had called another court martial, and had ordered us to be taken to Jackson county, and there to be executed,

In a few moments two large wagons drove up, and we were ordered to get into them, and while we were getting into them, there came up four or five men, armed, who drew up, and snapped their guns at us; some flashed in the pan, and others only snapped, but none of them went off. They were immediately arrested by several officers, and their guns taken from them. It was with much difficulty we could get Gen. Lucas' permission to go and see our families and get some clothing; but after considerable consultation, we were permitted to go under a strong guard of five or six men to each of us, and we were not permitted to speak to any one of our families, under pain of death. The guard that went with me, ordered my wife to get some clothes immediately, within two minutes, and if she did not do it, I should go off without them. I was obliged to submit to their tyrannical orders, however painful it was, with my wife and children clinging to my arms and to the skirts of my garments, and was not permitted to utter a word of consolation, and in a moment was hurried away from them at the point of the bayonet. We were hurried back to the waggon and ordered into them, all in about the same space of time. In the mean time our father, and mother, and sisters, had forced their way to the waggon to get permission to see us; but were forbidden to speak to us; and we were immediately drove off for Independence, Jackson county. We remained in Independence about one week, when an officer arrived with authority from General Clark, to take us back to Richmond, Ray county, where the General had arrived with his army to await our arrival. On the morning of our start for Richmond, we were informed by General Wilson, that it was expected by the soldiers that we would be hung up by the necks on the road, while on the march to that place, and that it was prevented by a demand made for us by General Clark, who had the command in consequence of seniority, and that it was his prerogative to execute us himself; and he should give us into the hands of the officer, who would take us to General Clark, and he might do with us as he pleased. We started in the morning under our new officer, Colonel Price, of Keytsville, Chariton county, with several other men to guard us. We arrived there on Friday evening, the 9th day of November, and were thrust into an old log house, and a strong guard placed over us. After we had been there for the space of half an hour, there came in a man, who was said to have some notoriety in the penitentiary, bringing in his hands a quantity of chains and padlocks. He said he was commanded by General Clark to put us in chains. Immediately the soldiers rose up and pointing their guns at us, placed their thumb on the cock, and their finger on the trigger; and the states prison keeper went to work, putting a chain around the leg of each man, and fastening it on with a padlock, until we were all chained together, seven of us.

In a few moments came in General Clark; we requested to know of him what was the cause of all this harsh and cruel treatment.—He refused to give us any information at that time; but he said he would in a few days: so we were compelled to continue in that situation, camping on the floor, all chained together, without any chance or means to be made comfortable; having to eat our victuals as it was served up to us, using our fingers and teeth instead of knives and forks. While we were in this situation, a young man of the name of Grant, brother-in-law to my brother William Smith, came to see us, and put up at the tavern where General Clark made his quarters; he happened to come in time to see General Clark make choice of his men, to shoot us on Monday morning, the 12th day of November; he saw them make choice of their rifles, and load them with two balls in each, and after they had prepared their guns, General Clark saluted them by saying '*Gentlemen, you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at eight o'clock!*' But in consequence of the influence of our friends, the heathen general was intimidated, so that he durst not carry his murderous designs into execution, and sent a messenger immediately to Fort Leavenworth to obtain the military code of laws. After the messenger's return, the general was employed nearly a week, examining the laws: so Monday passed away without our being shot: however, it seemed like foolishness to me that so great a man as General Clark pretended to be, should have to search the military law to find out whether preachers of the gospel, who never did military duty, could be subject to court martial. However, the general seemed to learn that fact after searching the military code, and came into the old log cabin where we were under guard, and in chains, and told us he had concluded to deliver us over to the civil authorities: as persons guilty of treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing! The poor deluded General supposed there was a difference between theft, larceny, and stealing! Accordingly, we were handed over to the pretended civil authorities. The

next morning our chains were taken off, and we were guarded to the court-house, where there was a pretended court in session; Austin A. King being the Judge, and Mr. Birch, the district attorney—both of whom sat on the court martial when we were sentenced to be shot. Witnesses were called up and sworn at the *point of the bayonet*, and *if they would not swear to the things they were told to do, they were threatened with instant death, and I do know, positively, that the evidence given in by those men, whilst under duress, was false.* This state of things was continued twelve or fourteen days; and after that time, we were ordered by the Judge to introduce some rebutting evidence, saying, "If we did not do it, we would be thrust into prison." I could hardly understand what the Judge meant, for I considered we were in prison already, and could not think of any thing but the persecutions in the days of Nero; knowing that it was a *religious persecution*, and the court an *inquisition*: however, we gave him the names of forty persons who were acquainted with all the persecutions and sufferings of the people. The Judge made out a subpœna, and inserted the names of those men, and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogart the notorious Methodist minister, and he took fifty armed soldiers and started for Far West. I saw the subpœna given to him and his company, when they started. In the course of a few days they returned with most of those forty men, whose names were inserted in the subpœna, and *thrust them into prison*, and we were not permitted to bring one of them before the court; but the Judge turned upon us with an air of indignation and said, "Gentlemen, you must get your witnesses, or you shall be committed to jail immediately; for we are not going to hold the court open on expense much longer, for you any how." We felt very much distressed and oppressed at that time. Colonel Wight said, "What shall we do? Our witnesses are all thrust into prison, and probably will be, and we have no power to do any thing: of course we must submit to this tyranny and oppression; we cannot help ourselves." Several others made similar expressions in the agony of their souls; but my brother Joseph did not say any thing. However, it was considered best by General Doniphan and Lawyer Reese, that we should try and get some witnesses before the pretended court. Accordingly, I myself gave the names of about twenty other persons; the Judge inserted them in a subpœna, and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogart the Methodist priest, and he again started with his fifty soldiers to take those men prisoners, as he had done to the forty others. The Judge sat and laughed at the good opportunity of getting the names, that they might the more easily capture them, and so bring them down to be thrust into prison, in order to prevent us from getting the truth before the pretended court, of which he was the chief inquisitor or conspirator. Bogart returned from his second expedition with only one prisoner, whom he also thrust into prison.

The people at Far West had learned the intrigue and had left the state, having been made acquainted with the treatment of the former witnesses. But we, on learning that we could not obtain witnesses, whilst privately consulting with each other what we should do, discovered a Mr. Allen, standing by the window on the outside of the house, and beckoned to him as though we would have him come in. At that time Judge King retorted upon us again, saying, "Gentlemen, are you not going to introduce some witnesses?" also saying it was the last day he should hold the court open for us, and if we did not rebut the testimony that had been given against us, he should have to commit us to jail. I had then got Mr. Allen into the house, and before the court, so called. I told the Judge we had one witness, if he would be so good as to put him under oath: he seemed unwilling to do so; but after a few moments consultation, the state's attorney arose and said he should object to that witness being sworn, and that he should object to that witness giving in his evidence at all; stating that this was not a court to try the case, but only a court of investigation on the part of the state. Upon this General Doniphan arose, and said "He would be G—d d—d if the witness should not be sworn, and that it was a d—d shame these defendants should be treated in this manner; that they could not be permitted to get one witness before the court, whilst all their witnesses even forty at a time, have been taken by force of arms, and thrust into the 'bull-pen' in order to prevent them from giving their testimony." After Doniphan sat down the Judge permitted the witness to be sworn, and enter upon his testimony. But so soon as he began to speak, a man by the name of Cook, who was a brother-in-law to priest Bogart, the Methodist, and who was a lieutenant, and whose place at that time, was to superintend the guard, stepped in before the pretended court, and took him by the nape of the neck and jammed his head down under the pole or



log of wood, that was placed up around the place where the inquisition was sitting, to keep the by-standers from intruding upon the majesty of the inquisitors, and jammed him along to the door, and kicked him out of doors. He instantly turned to some soldiers who were standing by him, and said to them, "Go and shoot him, d—n him, shoot him, d—n him". The soldiers ran after the man to shoot him: he fled for his life, and with great difficulty made his escape. The pretended court immediately arose, and we were ordered to be carried to Liberty, Clay county, and there to be thrust into jail. We endeavored to find out for what cause, but all we could learn was *because we were Mormons*.\*

The next morning a large wagon drove up to the door, and a blacksmith came into the house with some chains and handcuffs. He said his orders were from the Judge to handcuff us, and chain us together. He informed us that the Judge made out a mittimus, and sentenced us to jail for treason; he also said the Judge had done this that we might not get bail; he also said the Judge had stated his intention to keep us in jail until all the Mormons were driven out of the state; he also said that the Judge had further stated that if he let us out before the Mormons had left the state, that we would not let them leave, and there would be another d—d fuss kicked up; I also heard the Judge say myself, whilst he was sitting in his pretended court, "That there was no law for us, nor the Mormons, in the state of Missouri: that he had sworn to see them exterminated, and to see the Governor's order executed to the very letter, and that he would do so!" However, the blacksmith proceeded to put the irons upon us, and we were ordered into the wagon and they drove off for Clay county, and as we journeyed along on the road, we were exhibited to the inhabitants: this course was adopted all the way; thus making a public exhibition of us, until we arrived at Liberty, Clay county. There we were thrust into prison again, and locked up: and were held there in confinement for the space of six months: our place of lodging was the square side of hewed white oak logs! and our food was anything but good and decent. Poison was administered to us three or four times. The effect it had upon our system, was, that it vomited us almost to death, and then we would lay some two or three days in a torpid, stupid state, not even caring or wishing for life. The poison would inevitably have proved fatal, had not the power of Jehovah interposed in our behalf, to save us from their wicked purpose. We were also subjected to the necessity of EATING HUMAN FLESH! for the space of five days, or go without food, except a little coffee, or a little corn bread, the latter I chose in preference to the former. We none of us partook of the flesh except, Lyman Wight: we also heard the guard which was placed over us making sport of us, saying that "They had fed us upon *Mormon beef*!" I have described the appearance of this flesh to several experienced physicians, and they have decided that it was human flesh. We learned afterwards, by one of the guard, that it was supposed that that act of savage cannibalism, in feeding us with human flesh, would be considered a popular deed of notoriety; but the people on learning that it would not take, tried to

\* The following is an extract from the testimony of Sidney Rigdon:—

While I was laying sick in prison, I had an opportunity of hearing a great deal said by those of them who would come in. The subject was the all-absorbing one. I heard them say "That we must be put to death—that the character of the state required it. The state must justify herself in the course she had taken, and nothing but punishing us with death, could save the credit of the state, and it must therefore be done."

I heard a party of them one night telling about some female whose person they had violated, and this language was used by one of them—"The d—d bitch how she yelled." Who this person was, I did not know; but before I got out of prison, I heard that a widow whose husband had died some few months before, with consumption, had been brutally violated by a gang of them, and died in their hands, leaving three little children, in whose presence the scene of brutality took place.

After I got out of prison, and had arrived in Quincy, Illinois, I met a strange man in the street, who was inquiring, and inquired of me respecting a circumstance of this kind—saying "He had heard of it, and was on his way to Missouri to get the children if he could find them." He said the woman thus murdered was his sister, or his wife's sister, I am not positive which. The man was in great agitation. What success he had I know not.

keep it secret; but the fact was noised abroad before they took that precaution. While we were incarcerated in prison, we petitioned the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri for habeas corpus, twice, but we were refused both times by Judge Reynolds, who is now Governor of that state. We also petitioned one of the county Judges for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted in about three weeks afterwards; but were not permitted to have any trial; we were only taken out of jail and kept out for a few hours, and then remanded back again. In the course of three or four days after that time, Judge Turnham came into the jail in the evening, and said "He had permitted Mr. Rigdon to get bail," but said he had to do it in the night, and had also to get away in the night, and unknown to any of the citizens, or they would kill him; for they had sworn to kill him if they could find him; and as to the rest of us, he dared not let us go, for fear of his own life, as well as ours. He said it was hard to be confined under such circumstances, for he knew we were innocent men, and he said the people also knew it; and that it was only a persecution and treachery, and the scenes of Jackson county acted over again, for fear that we would become too numerous in that upper country. He said "The plan was concocted from the governor down to the lowest judge, and that that wicked Baptist priest, Riley, was riding into town every day to watch the people, stirring up the minds of the people against us all he could, exciting them, and stirring up their religious prejudices against us, for fear they would let us go." Mr. Rigdon, however, got bail and made his escape into Illinois. The jailor, Samuel Tillery, Esq., told us also, "That the whole plan was concocted from the governor down to the lowest judge in that upper country, early the previous spring, and that the plan was more fully carried out at the time General Atchison went down to Jefferson county with Generals Wilson, Lucas, and Gillum, the self-styled "Delaware Chief." This was some time in the month of September, when the mob was collected at De Witt, Carroll county. He also said "That the governor was now ashamed enough of the whole transaction, and would be glad to set us at liberty, if he dared to do it; but, said he, you need not be concerned, for the governor has laid a plan for your release. He also said that Squire Birch, the state's attorney, was appointed to be Circuit Judge, on the circuit passing through Davies county, and that he (Birch) was instructed to fix the papers, so that we would be clear from any incumbrance, in a very short time.

Sometime in April we were taken to Davies county, as they said, to have a trial; but when we arrived at that place, instead of finding a court or a jury, we found another inquisition, and Birch, who was the district attorney, the same man who was one of the court martial when we were sentenced to death, was now the circuit Judge of that pretended court; and the grand jury that were empannelled, were at the massacre at Haun's Mill, and lively actors in that awful, solemn, disgraceful, cool-blooded murder; and all the pretence they made of excuse, was, they had done it because the governor ordered them to do it. The same jury sat as a jury in the day time, and were placed over us as a guard in the night time. They tantalized and boasted over us, of their great achievements at Haun's Mills, and at other places, telling us how many houses they had burned, and how many sheep, cattle, and hogs they had driven off, belonging to the Mormons, and how many rapes they had committed, and what *squealing and kicking there was among the d—d bitches*; saying "*That they lashed one woman upon one of the d—d Mormon meeting benches, tying her hands and feet fast, and sixteen of them abused her as much as they had a mind to, and then left her bound and exposed in that distressed condition.*" These fiends of the lower region boasted of these acts of barbarity, and tantalized our feelings with them for ten days. We had heard of these acts of cruelty previous to this time, but we were slow to believe that such acts of cruelty had been perpetrated. The lady who was the subject of this brutality, did not recover her health, so as to be able to help herself, for more than three months afterwards. This grand jury constantly celebrated their achievements with grog and glass in hand, like the Indian warriors at their war dances, singing and telling each other of their exploits, in murdering the Mormons, in plundering their houses, and carrying off their property. And all this was done in the presence of the *great* Judge Birch, who had previously said in our hearing, "That there was no law for the Mormons in the state of Missouri." His brother was then the district attorney in that circuit, and if any thing was a greater cannibal than the Judge. After all these ten days of drunkenness, we were informed that we were indicted for "treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing." We asked for a change of venue from that county to Marion county, but they would not

grant it ; but they gave us a change of venue from Davies to Boon county ; and a mittimus was made out by the pretended Judge Birch, without date, name, or place. They fitted us out with a two horse waggon, and horses, and four men besides the sheriff, to be our guard : there were five of us. We started from Gallatin the sun about two hours high, p.m., and went as far as Diahman that evening and staid till morning. There we bought two horses of the guard and paid for one of them in clothing, which we had with us, and for the other we gave our note. We went down that day as far as Judge Morin's, a distance of some four or five miles. There we staid until the morning, when we started on our journey to Boon county, and travelled on the road about twenty miles distance. There was bought a jug of whiskey, of which the guard drank freely. While there the sheriff showed us the mittimus, before referred to, without date or signature, and said that Judge Birch told him never to carry us to Boon county, and to show the mittimus ; and said he, I shall take a good drink of grog and go to bed ; and you may do as you have a mind to. Three others of the guard drank pretty freely of whiskey sweetened with honey ; they also went to bed, and were soon asleep ; and the other guard went along with us, and helped us to saddle the horses. Two of us mounted the horses, and the other three started on foot, and we took our change of venue for the State of Illinois ; and in the course of nine or ten days arrived safely at Quincy, Adams county, where we found our families in a state of poverty, although in good health ; they having been driven out of the state previously, by the murderous militia, under the exterminating order \* of the Executive of Missouri ; and now the people of that state, or a portion of them, would be glad to make the people of this state believe that my brother Joseph has committed treason, for the purpose of keeping up their murderous and hellish persecution. They seem to be unrelenting, and thirsting for the blood of innocence ; for I do know most positively, that my brother Joseph has committed no treason, nor violated one solitary item of law or rule, in the state of Missouri.

But I do know that the Mormon people, *en masse*, were driven out of that state, after being robbed of all they had, and they barely escaped with their lives : as well as my

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\* The following is a copy of this infamous order, which was directed to General Clark :—

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE MILITIA,  
City of Jefferson,

October, 27th, 1838.

SIR,—

Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to come with four hundred mounted men, to be raised within your division ; I have received, by Amos Rees, Esq., and Wiley C. Williams, Esq., one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes entirely the face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of an avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made war upon the people of the state. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond in Ray county, with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be EXTERMINATED, or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good.

Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major-General Wollock of Marion county, to raise five hundred men, and to march them to the northern part of Davies county, and there to unite with General Doniphan of Clay—who has been ordered with five hundred men to proceed to the same point for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express. You can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Davies in their houses, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier-General Parks of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred of his Brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command.

(Signed)

L. W. BOGGS,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.



brother Joseph, who barely escaped with his life, and all this in consequence of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, the same being confirmed by the Legislature of that state. And I do know—so does this court, and every rational man who is acquainted with the circumstances, and every man who shall hereafter become acquainted with the particulars thereof—will know, that Governor Boggs, and Generals Clark, Lucas, Wilson, and Gillum, also Austin A. King, have committed treason upon the citizens of Missouri, and did violate the constitution of the United States, and also the constitution and laws of the state of Missouri; and did exile and expel at the point of the bayonet some twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants of the state and did *murder some three or four hundreds of men, women, and children in cold blood*, in the most horrid and cruel manner possible, and the whole of it was caused by religious bigotry and persecution, because the Mormons dared to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and agreeably to His divine will, as revealed in the scriptures of eternal truth; and had turned away from following the vain traditions of their fathers; and would not worship according to the dogmas and commandments of those men who preach for hire and divine for money, and teach for doctrine the precepts of men—expecting that the constitution of the United States would have protected them therein. But notwithstanding the Mormon people had purchased upwards of *two hundred thousand dollars worth of land*, most of which was entered and paid for at the land office of the United States in the state of Missouri—and although the President of the United States has been made acquainted with these facts, and the particulars of our persecution and oppressions, by petition to him and to Congress yet they have not even attempted to restore the Saints to their rights, or given any assurance that we may hereafter expect redress from them. And I do also know, most positively and assuredly, that my brother, Joseph Smith, senior, has not been in the state of Missouri, since the spring of the year 1839. And further this deponent saith not.

HYRUM SMITH.

“After hearing the foregoing evidence,” (and also the evidence of P. P. Pratt, Brigham Young, G. W. Pirkin, Lyman Wight, and Sidney Rigdon, which though very important is too voluminous to be inserted here,) “in support of said Petition—it is ordered and considered by the Court, that the said Joseph Smith, senior, be discharged from the said arrest and imprisonment complained of in said Petition, and that the said Smith be discharged for want of substance in the warrant, upon which he was arrested, as well as upon the merits of said case, and that he go hence without delay.

“In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court, at the city of Nauvoo, this 2nd day of July, 1843.

(L.S.)

“JAMES SLOAN,  
“CLERK.”

## CHAPTER X.

After this trial, the Governor of Missouri requested the Governor of Illinois to order out the militia to re-take Joseph, but this the Governor refused to do. However, every effort was made to excite the minds of the people against our whole society, and some outrages were committed. Parties of Missourians would cross the river, and kidnap individuals of our society and abuse them in the most barbarous manner, by stripping, whipping, &c. Daniel and Philander Avery (father and son) were among those treated in this manner. About this time Joseph Smith made the following “APPEAL” to the citizens of the state or Vermont, (his native state) praying them to exert their influence, in a legislative capacity, to bring Missouri to justice, and oblige her to desist from her relentless persecutions; and from the life-like portraiture of himself which appears in every sentence, the reader can form some idea of the largeness of his heart, the nobleness of his soul, and the true philanthropy that burned within his breast.

## AN APPEAL,

TO THE FREEMEN OF THE STATE OF VERMONT, "THE BRAVE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS," AND HONEST MEN.

I was born in Sharon, Vermont, in 1805,---where the first quarter of my life, grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of the "first-born" State of the "United Thirteen." From the old French war to the final consummation of American Independence, my fathers, heart to heart, and shoulder to shoulder, with the noble fathers of our liberty, fought and bled; and with the most of that venerable band of patriots, they have gone to rest---bequeathing a glorious country, with all her inherent rights, to millions of posterity. Like other honest citizens, I not only, (when manhood came,) sought my own peace, prosperity, and happiness; but also the peace, prosperity, and happiness of my friends: and, with all the rights and realm before me, and the revelations of Jesus Christ, to guide me into all truth; I had good reason to enter into the blessings and privileges of an American citizen:---the rights of a Green mountain boy, \* unmolested, and enjoy life and religion, according to the most virtuous and enlightened customs, rules, and etiquette of the nineteenth century. But to the disgrace of the United States, it is not so. These rights and privileges, together with a large amount of property, have been wrested from me and thousands of my friends, by lawless mobs in Missouri, supported by executive authority: and the crime of plundering our property; and the unconstitutional and barbarous act of expulsion; and even the inhumanity of murdering men, women, and children, have received the password of "justifiable," by legislative enactments, and the horrid deeds, doleful and disgraceful as they are, have been paid for by government.

In vain have we sought for redress of grievances, and a restoration to our rights and the remuneration for our property, in the halls of Congress, and at the hands of the President. The only consolation yet experienced from these highest tribunals, and mercy seats of our bleeding country, is, that "Our cause is just, but the government has no power to redress us."†

Our arms were forcibly taken from us by these Missouri marauders; and in spite of every effort to have them returned, the state of Missouri still retains them, and the United States militia law, with this fact before the government, still compels us to do military duty, and for the lack of said arms the law enforces us to pay our fines.

Several hundred thousand dollars worth of land in Missouri, was purchased at the United States' Land Offices in that district of country; and the money, without doubt, has been appropriated to strengthen the army and navy, or increase the power and glory of the nation in some other way: and notwithstanding Missouri has robbed and mobbed me and twelve or fifteen thousand innocent inhabitants, murdered hundreds, and expelled the residue at the point of the bayonet, without law, contrary to the express language of the constitution of the United States, and every state in the Union; and contrary to the custom and usage of civilized nations; and especially, one holding up the motto: "The asylum of the oppressed;" ‡ yet the comfort we receive, to raise our wounded bodies, and invigorate our troubled spirits, on account of such immense sacrifices of life, property, patience, and right; and as an equivalent for the enormous taxes we are compelled to pay to support these functionaries in a dignified manner, after we have petitioned, and pleaded with tears, and been showed like a caravan of foreign animals, for the peculiar gratification of connoisseurs in humanity, that flare along in public life, like lamps upon lamp posts, because they are better calculated for the schemes of the night than the scenes of the day, is, as President Van Buren, said "Your cause is just, but government has no power to redress you.

No wonder, after the Pharisee's prayer, the publican smote his breast and said, "Lord be merciful to me a sinner!" What must the manacled nations think of free-men's rights in the land of liberty?

\* Green Mountain boy: a term, in America, applied to the citizens of Vermont.

† Such was the language of President Van Buren.

‡ The motto of Missouri.

Now, therefore, having failed in every attempt to obtain satisfaction at the tribunals where all men seek for it according to the rules of right—I am compelled to appeal to the honor and patriotism of my native state; to the clemency and valor of “Green Mountain Boys:” for, throughout the various periods of the world, whenever a nation, kingdom, state, family, or individual has received an insult, or an injury, from a superior force, (unless satisfaction was made) it has been the custom to call in the aid of friends to assist in obtaining redress. For proof we have only to refer to the recovery of Lot and his effects, by Abraham, in the days of Sodom and Gomorrah; or, to turn to the relief afforded by France and Holland, for the achievement of the independence of these United States: without bringing up the great bulk of historical facts, rules, decrees, treaties, and Bible records, by which nations have been governed, to show that mutual alliance, for the general benefit of mankind, to retaliate and repel foreign aggressions; to punish and prevent home wrongs, when the conservators of justice and the laws have failed to afford a remedy, are not only common, and in the highest sense justifiable and wise, but they are also, proper expedients to promote the enjoyment of equal rights, the pursuit of happiness, the preservation of life, and the benefit of posterity.

With all these facts before me, and a pure desire to ameliorate the condition of the poor and unfortunate among men, and if possible to entice all men from evil to good; and with a firm reliance that God will reward the just, I have been stimulated to call upon my native state for a “union of all honest men;” and to appeal to the valor of “Green Mountain Boys” by all honorable methods and means to assist me in obtaining justice from Missouri: not only for the property she has stolen and confiscated, the murders she has committed among my friends, and for our expulsion from the state, but also to humble and chastise, or abase her for the disgrace she has brought upon constitutional liberty, until she atones for her sins.

I appeal also, to the fraternity of brethren, who are bound by kindred ties to assist a brother in distress, in all cases where it can be done according to the rules of the order, to extend the boon of benevolence and protection, in avenging the Lord of his enemies, as if a Solomon, a Hiram, a St. John, or a Washington raised his eyes before a wondering world, and exclaimed:—“My life for his!” Life, liberty, and virtue for ever!”

I bring this appeal before my native state for the solemn reason that an injury has been done, and crimes have been committed, which a sovereign state of the Federal compact, one of the great family of “*E pluribus unum*,” refuses to compensate, by consent of parties, rules of law, customs of nations, or in any other way: I bring it also, because the national Government has fallen short of affording the necessary relief, as before stated, for want of power, leaving a large body of her own free citizens, whose wealth went freely into her treasury for lands, and whose gold and silver for taxes still fills the pockets of her dignitaries, “in ermine and lace,” defrauded, robbed, mobbed, plundered, ravished, driven, exiled, and banished from the “Independent Republic of Missouri!”

And in this appeal let me say: Raise your towers; pile your monuments to the skies; build your steam frigates; spread yourselves far and wide, and open the iron eyes of your bulwarks by sea and land; and let the towering church steeples, marshal the country, like the “dreadful splendor” of an army with bayonets: but remember the flood of Noah; remember the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah; remember the dispersion and confusion at the Tower of Babel; remember the destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts; remember the hand-writing upon the wall, “Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin;” remember the angel’s visit to Sennacherib, and the 185,000 Assyrians; remember the end of the Jews and Jerusalem; and remember the Lord Almighty will avenge the blood of his Saints that now crimson the skirts of Missouri! Shall wisdom cry aloud and not her speech be heard?

Has the majesty of American liberty sunk into such vile servitude and oppression, that justice has fled? Has the glory and influence of a Washington, an Adams, a Jefferson, a Lafayette, and a host of others for ever departed,—and the wrath of Cain, a Judas, and a Nero, whirled forth in the heraldry of hell, to sprinkle our garments with blood; and lighten the darkness of midnight, with the blaze of our dwellings? Where is the patriotism of ’76? Where is the virtue of our forefathers? and where is the sacred honor of freemen?

Must we, because we believe in the fulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the ad-



ministration of angels, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, like the prophets and apostles of old,—must we be mobbed with impunity—be exiled from our habitations and property without remedy; murdered without mercy—and Government find the weapons, and pay the vagabonds for doing the job, and give them the plunder into the bargain? Must we, because we believe in enjoying the constitutional privilege and right of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own consciences; and because we believe in repentance and baptism for the remission of sins; the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the hands; the resurrection of the dead; the millenium; the day of judgment; and the Book of Mormon as the history of the aborigines of this continent,—must we be expelled from the institutions of our country; the rights of citizenship, and the graves of our friends and brethren, and the Government lock the gate of humanity, and shut the door of redress against us? If so, farewell freedom; adieu to personal safety,—and let the red-hot wrath of an offended God purify the nation of such sinks of corruption! for that realm is hurrying to ruin where vice has the power to expel virtue.

My father, who stood several times in the battles of the American Revolution, till his companions in arms had been shot dead at his feet, was forced from his home in Far West, Missouri, by those civilized, or satanized, savages, in the dreary season of winter, to seek a shelter in another state; and the vicissitudes and sufferings consequent to his flight, brought his honored grey head to the grave, a few months after. And my youngest brother also, in the vigor and bloom of youth, from his great exposure and fatigue in endeavoring to assist his parents on their journey, (I and my brother Hyrum being in chains, in dungeons—where they tried to feed us upon human flesh—in Missouri,) was likewise so debilitated that he found a premature grave shortly after my father. And my mother, too, though she yet lingers among us, from her extreme exposure in that dreadful tragedy, was filled with rheumatic affections and other diseases, which leaves her no enjoyment of health. She is sinking in grief and pain, broken hearted, from Missouri persecution.

O death! wilt thou not give to every honest man a heated dart, to sting those wretches while they pollute the land? and O grave wilt thou not open the trap-door to the pit of ungodly men, that they may stumble in?

I appeal to the "Green Mountain Boys" of my native state, to arise in the majesty of virtuous freemen, and by all honorable means help to bring Missouri to the bar of justice. If there is one whisper from the spirit of an Ethan Allen; or a gleam from the shade of a General Stark, let it mingle with our sense of honor, and fire our bosoms for the cause of suffering innocence,—for the reputation of our disgraced country, and for the glory of God: and may all the earth bear me witness, if Missouri, blood-stained Missouri—escapes the due demerit of her crimes, the vengeance she so justly deserves, that Vermont is a hypocrite—a coward—and this nation the hot-bed of political demagogues!

I make this appeal to the sons of liberty of my native state for help, to frustrate the wicked designs of sinful men—I make it to still the violence of mobs—I make it to cope with the unhallowed influence of wicked men in high places—I make it to resent the insult and injury made to an innocent, unoffending people, by a lawless ruffian state—I make it to obtain justice where law is put at defiance—I make it to wipe off the stain of blood from our nation's escutcheon—I make it to show presidents, governors, and rulers, prudence—I make it to fill honorable men with discretion—I make it to teach senators wisdom—I make it to learn judges justice—I make it to point clergymen to the path of virtue—and I make it to turn the hearts of this nation to the truths and realities of pure and undefiled religion, that they may escape the perdition of ungodly men; and Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is my Great Counsellor.

Wherefore let the rich and the learned, the wise and the noble, the poor and the needy, the bond and the free, both black and white, take heed to their ways, and cleave to the knowledge of God; and execute justice and judgment upon the earth in righteousness; and prepare to meet the Judge of the quick and the dead, for the hour of his coming is nigh.

And I must go on as the herald of grace,  
Till the wide-spreading conflict is over,  
And burst through the curtains of tyrannic night,  
Yea, I must go on to gather our race,

Till the high blazing flame of Jehovah,  
Illumines the globe as a triumph of right.

As a friend of equal rights to all men, and a messenger of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ.

I have the honor to be,  
Your devoted servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Illinois, December, 1843.

## CHAPTER XI.

However, nothing that he could do, or say, would satisfy the people. His religion was odious to them; he professed to have the testimony of Jesus which is the Spirit of prophecy:—he professed to be an apostle of Jesus Christ: he taught the doctrine of faith, repentance, and baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost: he solemnly declared the Book of Mormon to be a true record, which was revealed to him by an angel of God. He professed to believe in all the gifts and blessings which flow from the Holy Ghost, such as is recorded in the 12th chapter 1st Corinthians. He taught the literal gathering of the Jews to Jerusalem on the eastern continent, and the Saints to Zion on the western. He taught the literal and personal reign of Christ upon the earth for one thousand years previous to the last judgment. He testified that God had given him revelations and had authorized him to preach the gospel in its fulness, and to warn the people to repent or they would perish. These were his crimes and his only ones. The compiler of this history was personally acquainted with him, and resided near him for nearly a twelve-month; and I can testify that Joseph Smith was a moral and an upright man:—he was just in all his dealings: he was a kind husband, and an affectionate father: in his manly breast glowed all the pure feelings of real benevolence and true philanthropy: he was ever kind and forgiving,—was long-suffering, and patient; and endured his unheard-of persecutions and distresses with meekness and cheerfulness, and mourned only for the sore afflictions and tribulations of his brethren: with them he truly sympathized, and O how often was his warm heart melted at the sight of their sufferings. He was a man of God, mighty in word and in deed; and his comprehensive mind sought after knowledge as for hidden treasures, and brought forth many great and sublime truths, that have lain hid for centuries; and when eternal ages shall have passed away, and the names of his persecutors and murderers shall have long been lost in utter forgetfulness, his name, and his deeds will shine brighter than the noon-day sun, and will never be forgotten! He was not a vicious man, but contrariwise, in his heart and in his life the virtues shone resplendent; yet his life was hunted and sought after, as though he was some fearful monster, spreading devastation and destruction in his course. But he was a prophet and an apostle, alas this was his crime, and for it he must die!

Various plans were adopted and every effort made to excite the people against our whole society. Falsehoods of the basest kind were published in many public journals. Organized bands of thieves would steal from the surrounding neighborhoods and charge it upon the Saints. And finally a paper was started in Nauvoo, by persons that we had excommunicated from our church, for committing adultery. This paper upon its first issue, was made up of such a mass of vulgarity and indecency, that the City Council declared it a nuisance, and ordered the Sheriff to abate it. This made a great uproar in the neighboring towns, and was quickly seized upon as a pretext for commencing another persecution against the church, and particularly against Mr. Smith. Armed mobs began to assemble at Carthage and Warsaw, and a warrant was issued for Joseph's apprehension; but he secreted himself for a time, until the mob had become so excited, and had swelled to so large a number, that Nauvoo was threatened with a general massacre unless he was delivered up. At this juncture the Governor came with troops to Carthage, some eighteen miles distant from Nauvoo, and told Joseph that if he would give himself up, he "Pledged his honor and the honor of the state, that he should be protected, and should have a fair trial: but if he did not, the mob could not be restrained from marching into Nauvoo and massacring the town." In order to avert so dreadful a calamity he gave himself up to DIE FOR HIS FRIENDS! It was a solemn day when he left Nauvoo—there was many a strong arm and willing heart that would

gladly have went with him and protected him, but he forbade them. He took with him only two of the Twelve, (Elders J. Taylor and W. Richards) and his brother Hyrum. He earnestly entreated Hyrum to remain, but he replied, "JOSEPH, IF YOU DIE LET ME DIE WITH YOU! LET US FALL TOGETHER!"

The following account is extracted from the book of "Doctrine and Covenants," page 444:—

### MARTYRDOM OF JOSEPH SMITH AND HIS BROTHER HYRUM.

1. To seal the testimony of this book and the Book of Mormon, we close with the martyrdom of Joseph Smith the prophet, and Hyrum Smith the patriarch. They were shot in Carthage jail on the 27th of June, 1844, about five o'clock p.m., by an armed mob, painted black, of from 150 to 200 persons. Hyrum was shot first, and fell calmly exclaiming, "I am a dead man." Joseph leaped from the window, and was shot dead in the attempt, exclaiming "O Lord my God!" They were both shot after they were dead in a brutal manner, and both received four balls.

2. John Taylor and Willard Richards, two of the Twelve, were the only persons in the room at the time: the former was wounded in a savage manner with four balls, but has since recovered: the latter, through the promises of God, escaped "without even a hole in his robe."

3. Joseph Smith, the prophet and seer of the Lord, has done more, (save Jesus only,) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years, he has brought forth the Book of Mormon, which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents: he's sent the fulness of the everlasting gospel which it contained, to the four quarters of the earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this book of Doctrine and Covenants, and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men: gathered many thousands of the Latter Day Saints: founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and works with his own blood—and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!

4. When Joseph went to Carthage to deliver himself up to the pretended requirements of the law, two or three days previous to his assassination, he said—"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offence, towards God, and towards all men—I SHALL DIE INNOCENT, AND IT SHALL YET BE SAID OF ME, HE WAS MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD." The same morning, after Hyrum had made ready to go—shall it be said to the slaughter? Yes, for so it was—he read the following paragraph near the close of the fifth chapter of Ether, in the Book of Mormon, and turned down the leaf upon it:

5 "And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I ——— bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea, and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood." The testators are now dead and their testament is in force.

6 Hyrum Smith was 44 years old last February, and Joseph Smith was 38 last December; and hence forward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion: and the reader in every nation will be reminded, that the "Book of Mormon" and this Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the church, cost the best blood of the nineteenth century, to bring it forth for the salvation of a ruined world. And that if the fire can scath a *green tree* for the glory of God, how easily it will burn up the "dry trees" to purify the vineyard of corruption. They lived for glory; they died for glory; and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

7 They were innocent of any crimes, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their *innocent blood* on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to Mormonism, that cannot



be rejected by any court on earth ; and their *innocent blood* on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the state as expressed by the Governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel, that all the world cannot impeach ; and their *innocent blood* on the banner of liberty, and on the magna charta of the United States, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations ; and their *innocent blood*, with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of Hosts, till he avenges that blood upon the earth : Amen.

The following extract is taken from a pamphlet published by a Mr. W. M. Daniels who was an eye witness of the bloody scene, and who at that time was not a member of our society ; it reads thus ; "When I had travelled nearly eight miles I inquired my way, and, through accident or design, I was placed upon a road that led me directly back to Warsaw. My mind was composed and tranquil as I came in sight of the place. My attention was attracted by a group of men, apparently in earnest conversation. I drew near and learned that the Carthage Greys had made them the proposition to come to Carthage, on the following day, and assist them in murdering Joseph and Hyrum Smith, during the absence of the Governor, to Golden's Point, where he contemplated marching with the troops. As soon as they discovered that I had heard the purpose of their conference, they became suspicious of me, fearing exposure, no doubt, and put me under guard. I was held in custody until the following day, when a company of volunteers was raised, to march to Golden's Point, to unite with the Governor. I desired to make the Governor acquainted with what was contemplated against the lives of the prisoners. To effect this object, I volunteered, and drew a musket. The company was paraded in single file ; roll was called and Capt. Jacob Davis, (the murderer, who was screened from justice by the late Senate of Illinois,) and Capt. Grover, selected ten men each from their respective companies, who were to march to Carthage, in compliance with the request of the Carthage Greys, to co-operate with them in committing the murder.—These twenty men were marched a short distance to one side, where they received their instructions from Col. Williams, Mark Aldrich, Cap. Jacob Davis, and Cap. Grover, and they were sent off. I do not recollect the names of any of these twenty, with the exception of two brothers—coopers in Warsaw, by the name of Stevens. One of them is about six feet three inches high, well proportioned and athletic. The other is near five feet nine inches high, dark complexion and dark hair. When the officers were interrogated as to the object of these twenty men being sent in advance of the troops, they evaded the truth by replying that they had been detailed for a picket guard.

The troops were marched. We arrived at the crossing of the Rail Road at 12 o'clock. We were there met by Sharp, and others, bearing despatches from the Governor, disbanding the troops. This unexpected order threw the troops into a perfect panic. They cursed the Governor for not permitting them to march through to Nauvoo. Their object in wishing to go—and this was understood with all the militia—was to burn the city and exterminate the inhabitants. These designs were baffled by the disbanding of the troops. In justice to the character of Governor Ford, I would remark that his object in disbanding the troops, was to prevent such an awful calamity. The disbanding orders were read by Col. Levi Williams. Captains Davis, Grover and Elliott, immediately called their companies together.

Thomas C. Sharp mounted his 'big bay horse,' and made an inflammatory speech to the companies, characteristic of his corrupt heart. The following is a short extract, as near as my memory will serve me :

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The crisis has arrived when it becomes our duty to rise, as freemen, and assert our rights. The law is insufficient for us ;—the Governor will not enforce it ;—we must take it into our own hands ; we know what wrongs we suffer, and we are the best calculated to redress them. Now is the time to put a period to the mad career of the Prophet ;—sustained as he is by a band of fanatical military saints ! We have bore his usurpations until it would be cowardice to bear them longer ! My Fellow Citizens ; improve the opportunity that now offers ; lest the opportunity pass, and the despotic Prophet will never again be in your power. All things are understood, we must hasten to Carthage and murder the Smiths while the Governor is absent at Nauvoo. Beard the Lions in their den. The news will reach Nauvoo before the Governor leaves. This will so enrage the Mormons, that they will fall upon and murder Tom Ford, and we shall then be rid of the d——d little Governor and

the Morimons too."—(Cheers.) This speech was likely to fail of having the desired effect. None seemed willing to be the first to start: at last Capt. Grover started, and declared he would go alone, if no person would follow him. Soon one person followed, then another and another, until a company of eighty-four was made up. All the troops that had not volunteered in this company were told to go home. The twenty men who had been sent forward to commit the murder, were sent for and they formed a part of the eighty-four.

Here I felt that the purpose for which I volunteered had been baffled. I expected to have met with the Governor at Golden's point, which could I have done, I entertained no doubt, but I would have succeeded in putting a stop to the murder. But instead of marching to Golden's point as we anticipated, he marched to Nauvoo. Under these circumstances I was at a loss to know what to do. I had not time to go to Nauvoo, and raise a *posse* to surround the jail as a guard, before this company would arrive there. I was on foot, and would have had 10 or 12 miles farther to travel than they. As I could not do anything better, I was determined to follow on with the companies, and see what they would do. Several others, like myself, followed out of curiosity, without being armed. Carthage lay directly on my route home. After we had arrived within nearly 6 miles of Carthage, they made a partial halt. Col. Williams rode three or four times backwards and forwards from the company to the Carthage Greys. He said he would have the Carthage Greys come and meet them. They marched within four miles of Carthage, when they were met by one of the Greys, bringing a note to the following import.---"Now is a delightful time to murder the Smiths. The Governor has gone to Nauvoo with all the troops. The Carthage Greys are left to guard the prisoners. Five of our men will be stationed at the jail; the rest will be upon the public square. To keep up appearances, you will attack the men at the jail—a sham scuffle will ensue—their guns will be loaded with blank cartridges—they will fire in the air."

(Signed,) CARTHAGE GREYS.

They were also instructed by the person, bearing this despatch, to fire three guns as they advanced along the fence that leads from the woods to the jail. This was to serve as a signal to the Carthage Greys, that they were in readiness. At this both parties were to rush to the jail, and the party that reached it first was to perform the deed. After they had received their instructions, the company followed along up the hollow that struck into the point of timber. Soon the mob made their appearance. They advanced in single file along the fence, as they had been instructed. When they had gained about half the distance of the fence, the signal guns were fired. Both parties made a simultaneous rush, and soon the jail was surrounded by the mob. They had blacked themselves with wet powder, while they were in the woods, which gave them the horrible appearance of demons. The most of them had on blue hunting-shirts, with fringe around the edges. Col. Williams shouted out, "rush in!---there is no danger boys---all is right!" A rush was made in the door, at the South part of the building. This let them into a hall, or entry, from which they ascended a flight of stairs, at the head of which, turning to the right, they reached the door that lead into the prisoners' room.

Hyrum stood near the centre of the room, in front of the door. The mob fired two balls through the pannel of the door, one of which entered Hyrum Smith's head, at the left side of his nose. He fell upon his back, with his head one or two feet from the north east corner of the room, exclaiming, as he fell, "I am a dead man!" In all, four balls entered his body. One ball, (it must have been fired through the window, from the outside,) passed through his body with such force---entering his back---that it completely broke to pieces a watch which he wore in his vest pocket. A shower of balls were poured through all parts of the room, many of which lodged in the ceiling just above the head of the fallen man. Elder Taylor took a position beside the door, with Elder Richards a little at his right, and parried of their muskets with a walking stick, as they were firing. He continued parrying their guns, until they had got them about half the length into the room, when he found resistance vain and attempted to jump out of the window, and a ball from within struck him on the left thigh;---hitting the bone it passed through to within half an inch of the other side. He fell on to the window-sill and expected he would fall out, when a ball from without struck his watch, which he carried in his vest pocket, which threw him back into the room. He was hit by two more balls; one injuring his left wrist considerably, and the other entering at the side of

the bone, just below the left knee. He fell into the room, and rolled under a bed that set at the right of the window, in the south east corner of the room. While under the bed, he was fired at several times, and was struck by one ball which tore the flesh on his left hip in a shocking manner, throwing large quantities of blood upon the wall and floor. These wounds proved very severe and painful, but he suffered without a murmur, rejoicing that he had the satisfaction to mingle his blood with that of the prophets, and be with them in the last moments of their earthly existence. His blood, with theirs, can cry to heaven for vengeance on those who have shed the blood of innocence and slain the servants of the Living God in all ages of the world. This seemed a source of high gratification, and he endured his severe sufferings without a single complaint, being perfectly resigned to the will of God. Elder Richards was contending with the assailants, at the door, when Joseph, seeing there was no safety in the room, and probably thinking it might save the lives of the others if he could escape from the room, turned calmly from the door, dropped his pistol upon the floor, saying, "There, defend yourselves as well as you can." He sprung into the window; but just as he was preparing to descend, he saw such an array of bayonets below, that he caught by the window casing, where he hung by his hands and feet, with his head to the north, feet to the south, and his body swinging downwards. He hung in that position three or four minutes, during which time he exclaimed, two or three times, "O LORD, MY GOD!!!" and fell to the ground. While he was hanging in that situation, Col. Williams hallooed, "shoot him! God d——n him! shoot the d——d rascal!" However, none fired at him. He seemed to fall easy. He struck partly on his right shoulder and back, his neck and head reaching the ground a little before his feet. He rolled instantly on his face. From this position he was taken by a young man, who sprung to him from the other side of the fence, who held a pewter fife in his hand,—was bare-foot and bare-headed, having on no coat—with his pants rolled above his knees, and shirt-sleeves above his elbows. He set President Smith against the south side of the well-curb, that was situated a few feet from the jail. While doing this, the savage muttered aloud, "This is Old Jo; I know him. I know you, Old Jo. Damn you; you are the man that had my daddy shot." The object he had in talking in this way, I suppose to be this: He wished to have President Smith, and the people in general, believe he was the son of Gov. Boggs, which would lead to the opinion that it was the Missourians who had come over and committed the murder. This was the report that they soon caused to be circulated through the country; but this was too palpable a falsehood to be credited. The deed was too bloody for even Missouri barbarism to father! After President Smith had fallen, I saw elder Richards come to the window and look out upon the horrid scene that spread itself before him. I could not help noticing the striking contrast in his and President Smith's countenance and that of the horrid demon-like appearance of the murderers. They were calm and tranquil, while the mob was filled with excitement and agitation.

President Smith's exit from the room had the tendency to cause those who were firing into the room to abandon it and rush to the outside. This gave an opportunity for Elder Richards to convey Elder Taylor into the cell, which he did and covered him with a bed, thinking he might there be secure if the mob should make another rush into the jail. While they were in the cell, some of the mob again entered the room; but finding it deserted by all but Hyrum Smith, they left the jail. Remarkable as the circumstance is, Elder Richards was not hit with a single ball, and it will long remain a mystery, to the world, how he passed all the time through the thickest of the firing, and escaped without there being made a "HOLE IN HIS ROBE!" When President Smith had been set against the curb, and began to recover, Col. Williams ordered four men to shoot him. Accordingly, four men took an easterly direction, about eight feet from the curb, Col. Williams standing partly at their rear, and made ready to execute the order. While they were making preparations, and the muskets were raised to their faces, President Smith's eyes rested upon them with a calm and quiet resignation. He betrayed no agitated feelings and the expression upon his countenance seemed to betoken his inly prayer to be, "O, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The fire was simultaneous. A slight cringe of the body was all the indication of pain that he betrayed when the balls struck him. He fell upon his face. One ball then entered the back part of his body. This is the ball that many people have supposed struck him about the time he was in the window. But this is a mistake. I was close by him, and I know he was not hit with a ball, until after he was seated by the well-curb. His death was instant and tranquil. He betrayed no appearance of pain. His



noble form exhibited all its powers of manly strength and healthy agility, yet a muscle seemed not to move with pain, and there was no distortion of his features. His death was peaceful as the falling to sleep of an infant:—no cloud of contending passion gathered upon his brow, and no malediction trembled on his lip. The reward of a righteous man seemed hovering over him, and his breath ceased with as much ease and gentleness, as if eternity was exerting an influence in his behalf and taking his spirit home to a world of "Liberty, Light and Life."

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It was a solemn time at Nauvoo, when the remains of our beloved Joseph and revered Hyrum were brought into the city. Thousands of the Saints lined the road outside the city, to catch the first glimpse of the solemn cortege as it slowly approached on the road leading from Carthage: there were no dry eyes there—every heart was ready to burst. Nauvoo, at this time, was swarming with people. The resident population amounted to more than twelve thousand. To this amount was added thousands of the Saints who had fled there to escape the fury of the mob, forsaking their farms, their work-shops, their villages, their all; leaving everything they could not take with them to the fury of their inhuman persecutors; but all this they done cheerfully; they suffered "joyfully the spoiling of their goods," they were comparatively happy when their cattle and other stock were driven off by the mob, and they forced to fly for their lives like frightened sheep from a pack of hungry wolves, while their path was lighted by their burning dwellings: in all these things they rejoiced in that they were counted worthy to suffer such calamities for the sake of the gospel of Jesus Christ, for they knew that it was for the gospel's sake, and that alone, that the hand of the spoiler was upon them, and they KNEW that if they endured these afflictions patiently that great would be their reward in heaven; but O! to gaze upon the stiffened corpses of our beloved Joseph and Hyrum, to behold the blood that once coursed its way through those noble veins, now congealed and blackened upon their garments, or still red and dripping upon its mother earth, who quickly absorbed it that she might cry unto her Maker for vengeance on the guilty hands that shed it: to behold those countenances, still smiling, though cold in death, which in years gone by had beamed forth so brightly and serenely, faithful indexes of the pure and generous souls within, whose effulgent rays had penetrated many a sorrow-laden heart, and by its hallowed influence, had cheered many a drooping spirit—to reflect, how often the congregated thousands of Israel had sat under the sound of their voices, now alas how silent! yet still, even in death, seeming to say, "Onward! brethren, onward! you shall conquer though you die!" To reflect on the many hours rendered sacred to our memory by the rich instruction which fell from those lips, now O how pale! To remember the many trying scenes in which we would have fainted, had they not cheered us by their presence, strengthened us by their wise counsels, and encouraged us by their example. To remember how many qualities of head and heart they possessed that were so well calculated to endear them to us—these and a thousand other reflections that crowded in upon our bursting hearts, as we gazed upon their murdered corpses, was more than we could well endure—in the agony of our souls we wept! But we were not a people to sit mourning as those without hope; but having paid those last honors due to departed loved-ones, we set about finishing the House of the Lord; for in that building the Lord had promised to endow us with the fulness of the priesthood, by which we could go into all the world, and raise the standard of truth to the most distant nations, and warn them of the calamities that will shortly come upon the earth, unless they repent, and obey the gospel.

The mob had now, by the murder of our prophet and patriarch, drawn the dividing line between them and us, and fearing that the brethren would bring them to justice they fully determined upon our expulsion or extermination. To accomplish this object a wolf-hunt was projected. The mob was to collect at certain points under the pretence of wolf-hunting, and on the 27th of September they were to concentrate their forces and march against Nauvoo; but the Governor being warned of what was going on, collected a body of troops from distant parts of the state, and marching in person with them to Hancock dispersed them and frustrated their murderous designs. After this, things went on calmly for a time, but the mob looked with a jealous eye upon the Temple which we were building. This was an immense structure, the architecture of which was exceedingly grand and beautiful. It was built of white marble. The mob feared that if we completed that "House" they could never succeed in driving us from it, but that like the ancient Israel we would defend it to the last. Therefore they

made a desperate effort to raise a sufficient force to drive us out of the state forthwith. Soon Warsaw and Carthage were filled with mobbers, and they soon commenced driving in our brethren from the most exposed settlements, burning their houses, stacks of wheat &c., and driving of their stock.

The Sheriff of Hancock fearing the re-enacting of murderous scenes, and knowing that no confidence could be placed in the old citizens to disperse the mob, came to Nauvoo and called out the Nauvoo Legion, which at that time numbered over five thousand men, and marched them as a *posse committatus* to Carthage and Warsaw, and dispersed the mob.

However, the excitement still continued; and as it was evident that it would be impossible for the church to live in Illinois, an agreement was made with the mob, that we would leave the state, the following spring. The excitement now abated; and the brethren having completed the temple, assembled in it and received their endowment: which endowment gives us power to preach the fulness of the gospel among all nations, and to build up the church, or kingdom of God upon the earth, and thus prepare a people to receive our Savior, when he shall come to Zion to reign a thousand years among his Saints. Thus, having accomplished the object of building the House of the Lord, the brethren hastened their preparations for departure, and in the winter of 1846 commenced their removal. Most of the Church advanced into the indian territory as far as Council Bluffs, a distance of about seven hundred miles, here, far beyond the white settlements surrounded by indians, they halted and put in a crop. But, O! who can tell the sufferings they endured that long and dreary season, many sunk under the fearful trial.

In the following September, the great body of the church having left Illinois, and the remnant left behind being those who were too poor to remove, the mob which at that time numbered over 1600 men, with a park of artillery, marched against Nauvoo, for the purpose of massacring or driving the few Saints remaining there. They had about 200 baggage wagons, with sectarian ministers to preach and orators to inspire the rabble with the old idea, "that they were doing God service." Thomas S. Brockman, the commander of this mob, is a Campbellite preacher. On the 10th of September they encamped near Nauvoo. On the next day they commenced their attack upon the city, throwing cannon-balls and grape-shot in showers, but were stopped by our domestic cannon which was made out of an old steamboat shaft. The next day they commenced an action which lasted one hour and twenty minutes, when they were repulsed, which seems a miracle when we consider that about one hundred and fifty men stood against eight hundred of the mob. Two of the saints (William Anderson and son) were killed. The mob confess one killed and twelve wounded. Hostilities now ceased, and a treaty was entered into in which it was stipulated that, "The city of Nauvoo will surrender—the Nauvoo arms to be delivered up—the Quincy committee to use their influence to protect persons and property from violence—the Saints to leave the state, and disperse as soon as they cross the river." This treaty, however was not regarded by the mob, and the afflicted remnant of the Saints were ruthlessly driven across the river at the point of the sword.

The following extract is from a lecture delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Colonel Kane, son of the Honorable Judge Kane, of the United States District Court of Pennsylvania. He is not a member of the society.

## CHAPTER XII.

A few years ago, (said Colonel Kane), ascending the Upper Mississippi, in the autumn when its waters were low, I was compelled to travel by land past the region of the Rapids. My road lay through the Half-Breed Tract, a fine section of Iowa, which the unsettled state of its land-titles had appropriated as a sanctuary for coiners, horse thieves, and other outlaws. \* \* \* \* \*

I was descending the last hill-side upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half encircled by a bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill, which was crowned by a noble marble edifice, whose high tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles; and beyond it, in the back ground, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The unmistakable

marks of industry, enterprise, and educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty.

It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked, and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the fires buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved way; rains had not yet entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

Yet I went about unchecked. I went into empty workshops, rope-walks, and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold; but his coal heap, and lading pool, and crooked water horn, were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work-people anywhere looked to know my errand. If I went into the gardens, clinking the wicket-latch loudly after me, to pull the marygolds, heart's ease, and lady-slippers, and draw a drink with the water-sodden well-bucket and its noisy chain; or, knocking off with my stick the tall heavy-headed dahlias and sunflowers, hunted over the bed for cucumbers and love-apples—no one called out to me from any opened window, or dog sprung forward to bark an alarm. I could have supposed the people hidden in the houses, but the doors were unfastened; and when at last I timidly entered them, I found dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to tread a-tiptoe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid rousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors.

On the outskirts of the town was the city graveyard; but there was no record of plague there, nor did it in anywise differ much from Protestant American cemeteries. Some of the mounds were not long sodded; some of the stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly dried lettering ink. Beyond the graveyard, out in the fields, I saw, in one spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly torn down, the still mouldering remains of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from the fencing round it. It was the latest sign of life there. Fields upon fields of heavy-headed yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest. As far as the eye could reach, they stretched away—they sleeping too in the hazy air of autumn.

Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the southern suburb, the houses looking out upon the country showed, by their splintered wood-work, and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. These challenged me to render an account of myself, and why I had had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

Though these men were generally more or less under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told me the story of the DEAD CITY: that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and had been finally successful only a few days before my visit, in an action fought in front of the ruined suburb; after which they had driven them forth at the point of the sword. The defence, they said, had been obstinate, but gave way on the third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly of their prowess, especially in the battle, as they called it; but I discovered they were not of one mind as to certain of the exploits that had distinguished it; one of which, as I remember, was, that they had slain a father and his son, a boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fatal city, whom they admitted to have borne a character without reproach.

They also conducted me inside the massive sculptured walls of the curious Temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of cer-



tain shrines they had thus particularly noticed ; and various sheltered chambers, in one of which was a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a dreadful design. Beside these, they led me to see a large and deep chiselled marble vase or basin, supported upon twelve oxen, also of marble, and of the size of life, of which they told some romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, most of whom were emigrants from a great distance, believed their Deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents 'went into the water' for their lost children, children for their parents, widows for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers ; that thus the Great Vase came to be for them associated with all dear and distant memories, and was therefore the object, of all others in the building, to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account, the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple, to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before ; and to look out, east and south, on wasted farms like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. Here, in the face of the pure day, close to the sear of the Divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a brass drum and a steam-boat signal bell, of which I afterwards learnt the use with pain.

It was after nightfall, when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I headed higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

Here, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street vendors of apples and pea-nuts, and which, flaming and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and gazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries ; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awkwardly, sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed ; a toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes. He, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of two little girls, who were sitting upon a piece of drift-wood outside.

Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings ; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburnt, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick : they had not bread to quiet the fractioning hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grand-parents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

These were Mormons, in Lee county, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Illinois. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who had stopped their ploughs, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles, and their workshop wheels : those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread ; these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of the dying.

I think it was as I turned from the wretched nightwatch of which I have spoken, that I first listened to the sounds of revelry of a party of the guard within the city. Above the distant hum of the voices of many, occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonation scrap of vulgar song : but lest this

requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of estatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into the high belfry of the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped, and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivari their loud-tongued steam-boat bell.

There were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful train their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another home. Hardly anything else was known of them: and people asked with curiosity, 'What had been their fate—what their fortunes?'

Since the expulsion of the Mormons to the present date, I have been intimately conversant with the details of their history. But I shall invite your attention most particularly to an account of what happened to them during their first year in the wilderness; because at this time more than any other, being lost to public view, they were the subjects of fable and misconception. Happily it was during this period I myself moved with them; and earned, at dear price, as some among you are aware, my right to speak with authority of them and their character, their trials, achievements, and intentions.

The party encountered by me at the river shore were the last of the Mormons that left the city. They had all of them engaged, the year before, that they would vacate their homes, and seek some other place of refuge. It had been the condition of a truce between them and their assailants; and as an earnest of their good faith, the chief elders and some others of obnoxious standing, with their families, were to set out for the West in the spring of 1846. It had been stipulated in return, that the rest of the Mormons might remain behind in the peaceful enjoyment of the Illinois abode, until their leaders, with their exploring party, could, with all diligence, select for them a new place of settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains, in California, or elsewhere, and until they had opportunity to dispose, to the best advantage, of the property which they were then to leave.

Some renewed symptoms of hostile feeling had, however, determined the pioneer party to begin their work before the spring. It was, of course, anticipated that this would be a perilous service; but it was regarded as a matter of self-denying duty. The ardour and emulation of many, particularly the devout and the young, were stimulated by the difficulties it involved; and the ranks of the party were therefore filled up with volunteers from among the most effective and responsible members of the sect. They began their march in mid-winter; and by the beginning of February, nearly all of them were on the road, many of the waggons having crossed the Mississippi on the ice.

Under the most favoring circumstances, an expedition of this sort, undertaken at such a season of the year, could scarcely fail to be disastrous. But the pioneer company had set out in haste, and were very imperfectly supplied with necessaries. The cold was intense. They moved in the teeth of keen-headed north-west winds, such as sweep down the Iowa Peninsula from the ice-bound regions of the timber-shaded Slave Lake and Lake of the Woods; on the Bald Prairie there, nothing above the dead grass breaks their free course over the hard rolled hills. Even along the scattered water-courses, where they broke the thick ice to give their cattle drink, the annual autumn fires had left little wood of value. The party, therefore, often wanted for good camp fires, the first luxury of all travellers; but, to men insufficiently furnished with tents and other articles of shelter, almost an essential to life. After days of fatigue, their nights were often past in restless efforts to save themselves from freezing. Their stock of food, also, proved inadequate; and as their systems became impoverished, their suffering from cold increased.

Sickened with catarrhal affections, manacled by the fetters of dreadfully acute rheumatisms, some contrived for a while to get over the shortening day's march, and drag along some others. But the sign of an impaired circulation soon began to show itself in the liability of all to be dreadfully frost-bitten. The hardiest and strongest became helplessly crippled. About the same time, the strength of their beasts of draught began to fail. The small supply of provender they could carry with them had given out. The winter-bleached prairie straw proved devoid of nourishment; and they could only keep them from starving by seeking for the browse, as it is called, a green bark, and

tender buds, and branches of the cotton-wood, and other stunted growths of the hollows.

To return to Nauvoo was apparently the only escape ; but this would have been to give occasion for fresh mistrust, and so to bring new trouble to those they had left there behind them. They resolved at least to hold their ground, and to advance as they might, were it only by limping through the deep snows a few slow miles a day. They found a sort of comfort in comparing themselves to the exiles of Siberia, and sought cheerfulness in earnest prayers for the spring—longed for as morning by the tossing sick.

The spring came at last. It overtook them in the Sac and Fox country, still on the naked prairie, not yet half way over the trail they were following between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. But it brought its own share of troubles with it. The months with which it opened proved nearly as trying as the worst of winter.

The snow and sleet and rain which fell, as it appeared to them without intermission, made the road over the rich prairie soil as impassable as one large bog of heavy black mud. Sometimes they would fasten the horses and oxen of four or five waggons to one, and attempt to get a-head in this way, taking turns ; but at the close of a day of hard toil for themselves and their cattle, they would find themselves a quarter or half a mile from the place they left in the morning. The heavy rains raised all the water-courses : the most trifling streams were impassable. Wood fit for bridging was often not to be had, and in such cases the only resource was to halt for the freshets to subside—a matter in the case of the headwaters of the Chariton, for instance, of over three weeks' delay.

These were dreary waitings upon Providence. The most spirited and sturdy murmured most at their forced inactivity. And even the women, whose heroic spirits had been proof against the lowest thermometric fall, confessed their tempers fluctuated with the ceaseless variations of the barometer. They complained, too, that the health of their children suffered more. It was the fact, that the open winds of March and April brought with them more mortal sickness than the sharpest freezing weather.

The frequent burials made the hardest sicken. On the soldier's march it is matter of discipline, that after the rattle of musketry over his comrade's grave, he shall tramp it to the music of some careless tune in a lively quick-step. But, in the Mormon camp the companion who lay ill and gave up the ghost within view of all, all saw as he lay a corpse, and all attended to his last resting-place. It was a sorrow, too, of itself to simple hearted people, the deficient pomps of their imperfect style of funeral. The general hopefulness of human—including Mormon—nature, was well illustrated by the fact, that the most provident were found unfurnished with undertaker's articles ; so that bereaved affection was driven to the most melancholy make-shifts.

The best expedient generally was to cut down a log of some eight or nine feet long, and slitting it longitudinally, strip off its dark bark in two half cylinders. These, placed around the body of the deceased and bound firmly together with withes made of the alburnum, formed a rough sort of tubular coffin which surviving relations and friends, with a little show of black crape, could follow with its enclosure to the hole, or bit of ditch, dug to receive it in the wet ground of the prairie. They grieved to lower it down so poorly clad, and in such an unheeded grave. It was hard—was it right, thus hurriedly to plunge it in one of the undistinguishable waves of the great land-sea, and leave it behind them there, under the cold north rain, abandoned to be forgotten ? They had no tomb-stones ; nor could they find rocks to pile the monumental cairn. So, when they had filled up the grave, and over it prayed a *miserere* prayer, and tried to sing a hopeful psalm, their last office was to seek out landmarks, or call in the surveyor to enable them to determine the bearings of valley bends, head-lands, or forks and angles of constant streams, by which its position should in the future, be remembered and recognized. The name of the beloved person, his age, the date of his death, and these marks were all registered with care. This party was then ready to move on. Such graves mark all the line of the first year of the Mormon travel—dispiriting mile-stones to failing stragglers in the rear.

It is an error to estimate largely the number of Mormons dead of starvation, strictly speaking. Want developed disease, and made them sink under fatigue, and maladies that would otherwise have proved trifling. But only those died of it outright who fell in rather out of the way places, that the hand of brotherhood could not reach. Among the rest no such thing as plenty was known, while any went on hungered. If but a



part of a group was supplied with provision, the only result was, that the whole went on the half or quarter ration, according to the sufficiency that there was among them; and this so ungrudgingly and contentedly, that, till some crisis of trial to their strength, they were themselves unaware that their health was sinking, and their vital force impaired. Hale young men gave up their own provided food and shelter to the old and helpless, and walked their way back to parts of the frontier States, chiefly Missouri and Iowa, where they were not recognised, and hired themselves out for wages to purchase more. Others were sent there to exchange for meal and flour, or wheat and corn, the table and bed furniture, and other last resources of personal property which a few had still retained.

In a kindred spirit of paternal forecast, others laid out great farms in the wilds, and planted in them the grain saved for their own bread, that there might be harvests for those who should follow them. Two of these, in the Sac and Fox country, and beyond it, Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, included within their fences above two miles of land a-piece, carefully planted in grain, with a hamlet of comfortable log-cabins in the neighbourhood of each.

Through all this, the pioneers found redeeming comfort in the thought, that their own suffering was the price of humanity to their friends at home. But the arrival of spring proved this a delusion. Before the warm weather had made the earth dry enough for easy travel, messengers came in from Nauvoo to overtake the party, with fear-exaggerated tales of outrage, and to urge the chief men to hurry back to the city, that they might give counsel and assistance there. The enemy had only waited till the emigrants were supposed to be gone on their road too far to return to interfere with them, and then renewed their aggressions. \* \* \* \*

From this time onward the energies of those already on the road were engrossed by the duty of providing for the fugitives who came crowding in after them. At a last general meeting of the sect in Nauvoo, there had been passed an unanimous resolve, that they would sustain one another, whatever their circumstances, upon the march; and this, though made in view of no such appalling exigency, they now with one accord set themselves together to carry out.

Here begins the touching period of Mormon history; on which, but that it is for me a hackneyed subject, I should be glad to dwell, were it only for the proof it has afforded of the strictly material value to communities of an active common faith, and its happy illustrations of the power of the spirit of Christian fraternity to relieve the deepest of human suffering. I may assume that it has already fully claimed the public sympathy.

Delayed thus by their own wants, and by their exertions to provide for the wants of others, it was not till the month of June that the advance of the emigrant companies arrived at the Missouri. \* \* \* \*

Though the season was late when they first crossed the Missouri, some of them moved forward with great hopefulness, full of the notion of viewing and choosing their new homes that year. But the van had only reached Grand Island and the Pawnee villages, when they were overtaken by more ill news from Nauvoo. Before the summer closed their enemies set upon the last remnant of those who were left behind in Illinois. They were a few lingerers, who could not be persuaded but there might yet be time for them to gather up their worldly goods before removing, some weak mothers and their infants, a few delicate young girls, and many cripples and bereaved and sick people. These had remained under shelter, according to the Mormon statement at least, by virtue of an express covenant in their behalf. If there was such a covenant it was broken. A vindictive war was waged upon them, from which the weakest fled in scattered parties, leaving the rest to make a reluctant and almost ludicrously unavailing defence till the 17th day of September, when one thousand six hundred and twenty-five troops entered Nauvoo, and drove all forth who had not retreated before that time.

Like the wounded birds of a flock, fired into towards nightfall, they came straggling with faltering steps, many of them without bag or baggage, beast or barrow, all asking shelter or burial, and forcing a fresh repartition of the already divided rations of their friends. It was plain now that every energy must be taxed to prevent the entire expedition from perishing. Further emigration for the time was out of the question, and the whole people prepared themselves for encountering another winter on the prairie. This was the Head Quarters of the Mormon Camps of Israel. The miles of rich prairie enclosed and sowed with the grain they could contrive to spare, and the houses, stacks, and cattle shelters, had the seeming of an entire county, with its people and

improvements transplanted there unbroken. On a pretty plateau, overlooking the river, they built more than seven hundred houses in a single town, neatly laid out with high-ways and by-ways, and fortified with breast-work, stockade, and block-houses. It had too, its place of worship, "Tabernacle of the Congregation," and various large workshops, and mills and factories, provided with water power.

They had no camp or settlement of equal size in the Pottowatamie country. There was less to apprehend here from Indian invasion; and the people scattered themselves, therefore, along the rivers and streams, and in the timber-groves, where they found inviting localities for farming operations. In this way many of them acquired what have since proved to be valuable pre-emption rights.

Upon the Pottowatamie lands, scattered through the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, in the Sauk and Fox country, a few among the Ioways, among the Poncahs in a great company upon the banks of the L'Eau qui Coule, or Running Water River, and at the Omaha winter-quarters;—the Mormons sustained themselves through the heavy winter of 1846-1847. It was the severest of their trials; and if I aimed at rhetorical effect, I would be bound to offer you a minute narrative of its progress, as a sort of climax to my history. But I have, I think, given you enough of the Mormon's sorrows. We are all of us content to sympathize with a certain extent of suffering; but very few can bear the recurring yet scarcely varied narrative of another's distress without something of impatience. The world is full of griefs, and we cannot afford to extend too large a share of our charity, or even our commiseration in a single quarter.

This winter was the turning-point of the Mormon fortunes: those who lived through it were spared to witness the gradual return of better times; and they now liken it to the passing away of a dreary night, since which they have watched the coming of a steadily brightening day.

Before the grass-growth of 1847, a body of one hundred and forty-three picked men with seventy waggons, drawn by their best horses, left the Omaha quarters under the command of the members of the High Council who had wintered there. They carried with them little but seed and farming implements, their aim being to plant spring crops at their ultimate destination. They relied on their rifles to give them food, but rarely left their road in search of game. They made long daily marches, and moved with as much rapidity as possible.

Against the season when ordinary emigration passes the Missouri, they were already through the South Pass; and a couple of short days' travel beyond it, entered upon the more arduous portion of their journey. It lay, in earnest, through the Rocky Mountains. They turned Fremont's Peak, Long's Peak, the Twins, and other King summits, but had to force their way over other mountains of the rugged Utah range, sometimes following the stony bed of torrents, the head waters of some of the mightiest rivers of our continent, and sometimes literally cutting their road through heavy and ragged timber. They arrived at the grand basin of the Great Salt Lake much exhausted, but without losing a man, and in time to plant for a partial autumn harvest.

Another party started after these pioneers, from the Omaha winter quarters, in the summer. They had 566 waggons, and carried large quantities of grain, which they were able to put in the ground before it froze.

The same season also, these were joined by a part of the Battalion, and other members of the Church, who came eastward from California and the Sandwich islands. Together, they fortified themselves strongly with sunbrick wall and blockhouses, and living safely through the winter, were able to tend crops that yielded ample provision for the ensuing year.

In 1848, nearly all the members of the church had left the Missouri country in a succession of powerful bands, invigorated and enriched by their abundant harvests there; and that year fully established their Commonwealth of the New Covenant, the future State of Deseret. \* \* \* \*

The history of the Mormons has ever since been the unbroken record of the most wonderful prosperity. It has looked as though the elements of fortune, obedient to a law of natural re-action, were struggling to compensate to them their undue share of suffering. They may be pardoned for deeming it miraculous. But, in truth, the economist accounts for it all, who explains to us the speedy recuperation of cities, laid in ruin by flood, fire, and earthquake. During its years of trial, Mormon labour has subsisted on insufficient capital, and under many trials, but it *has* subsisted, and survives them now, as intelligent and powerful as ever it was at Nauvoo; with this difference,

that it has in the meantime been educated to habits of unmatched thrift, energy, and endurance, and has been transplanted to a situation where it is in every respect more productive. Moreover, during all the period of their journey, while some have gained by practice in handicraft, and the experience of repeated essays at their various halting-places, the minds of all have been busy framing designs and planning the improvements they have since found opportunity to execute.

The territory of the Mormons is unequalled as a stock-raising country. The finest pastures of Lombardy are not more estimable than those on the east side of the Utah Lake and Jordan River. We find here that cereal anomaly, the Bunch grass. In May, when the other grasses push, this fine plant dries upon its stalk, and becomes a light yellow straw, full of flavor and nourishment. It continues thus, through what are the dry months of the climate, till January, and then starts with a vigorous growth, like our own winter wheat in April, which keep on till the return of another May. Whether as straw or grass, the cattle fatten on it the year round. The numerous little dells and sheltered spots that are found in the mountains are excellent sheep-walks; it is said that the wool which is grown upon them is of an unusually fine pile and soft texture. Hogs fatten on a succulent bulb or tuber, called the Seacoe, or Seegose Root, which I hope will soon be naturalized with us. It is highly esteemed as a table vegetable by Mormons and Indians, and I remark that they are cultivating it with interest at the French Garden of Plants. The emigrant poultry have taken the best care of each other, only needing liberty to provide themselves with every other blessing.

The Mormons have also been singularly happy in their Indian relations. They have not made the common mistake of supposing savages insensible to courtesy of demeanour; but, being taught by their religion to regard them all as decayed brethren, have always treated the silly, wicked souls with kind-hearted civility. Though their outlay for tobacco, wampum, and vermillion has been of the very smallest, yet they have never failed to purchase what goodwill they wanted. \* \* \*

From the first, therefore, the Mormons have had little or nothing to do in Deseret, but attend to their mechanical and strictly agricultural pursuits. They have made several successful settlements; the farthest north, at what they term Brownsville, is above forty miles; and the farthest south, in a valley called the Sanpeech, two hundred miles from that first formed. A duplicate of the Lake Tiberias, or Genesareth empties its waters into the innocent Dead Sea of Deseret, by a fine river, to which the Mormons gave the name—it was impossible to give it any other—of the Western Jordan.

It was on the right bank of the stream, at a choice spot upon a rich table land, traversed by a great company of exhaustless streams falling from the highlands, that the Pioneer band of Mormons, coming out of the mountains in the night, pitched their first camp in the Valley, and consecrated the ground. Curiously enough, this very spot proved the most favourable site for their chief settlement, and after exploring the whole country, they have founded on it their city of the New Hierusalem. Its houses are spread to command as much as possible the farms, which are laid out in wards or cantons, with a common fence to each ward. The farms in wheat already cover a space greater than the district of Columbia, over all of which they have completed the canals, and other arrangements, for bountiful irrigation, after the manner of the cultivators of the East. The houses are distributed over an area nearly as great as the City of New York. \* \* \*

They mean to seek no other resting-place. After pitching camps enough to exhaust many times over the chapter of names in 33rd Numbers, they have at last come to their Promised Land, and, "behold, it is a good land and large, and flowing with milk and honey;" and here again for them, as at Nauvoo, the forge smokes and the anvil rings, and whirring wheels go round. Again has returned the merry sport of childhood, and the evening quiet of old age, and again dear house-pet flowers bloom in garden plots round happy homes.